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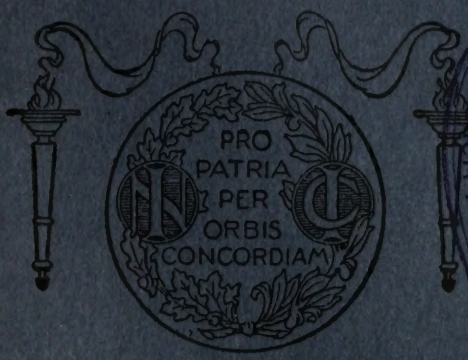
Inter-America

A MONTHLY THAT LINKS THE THOUGHT OF THE NEW WORLD



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INTER-AMERICA

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles or make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

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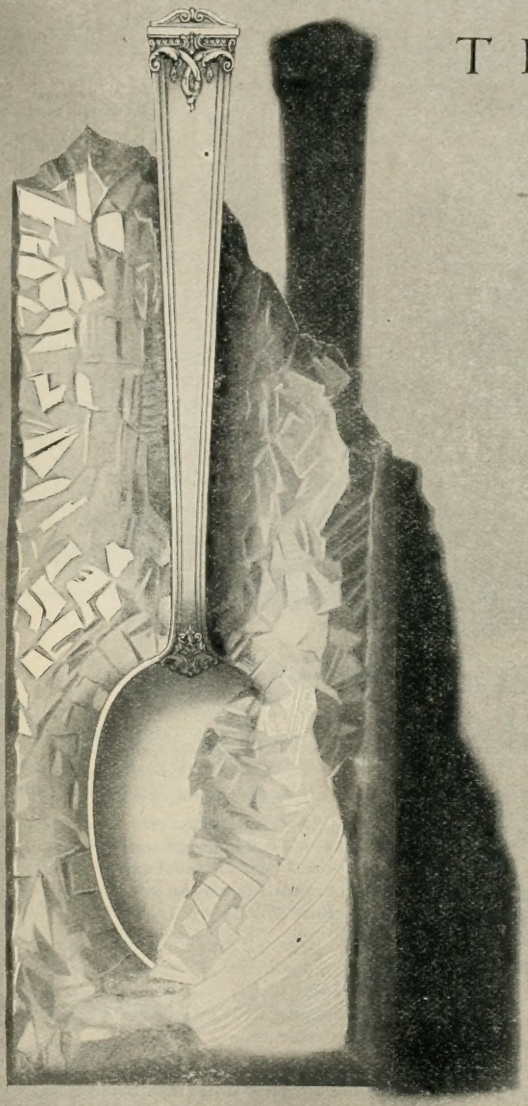

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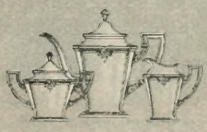

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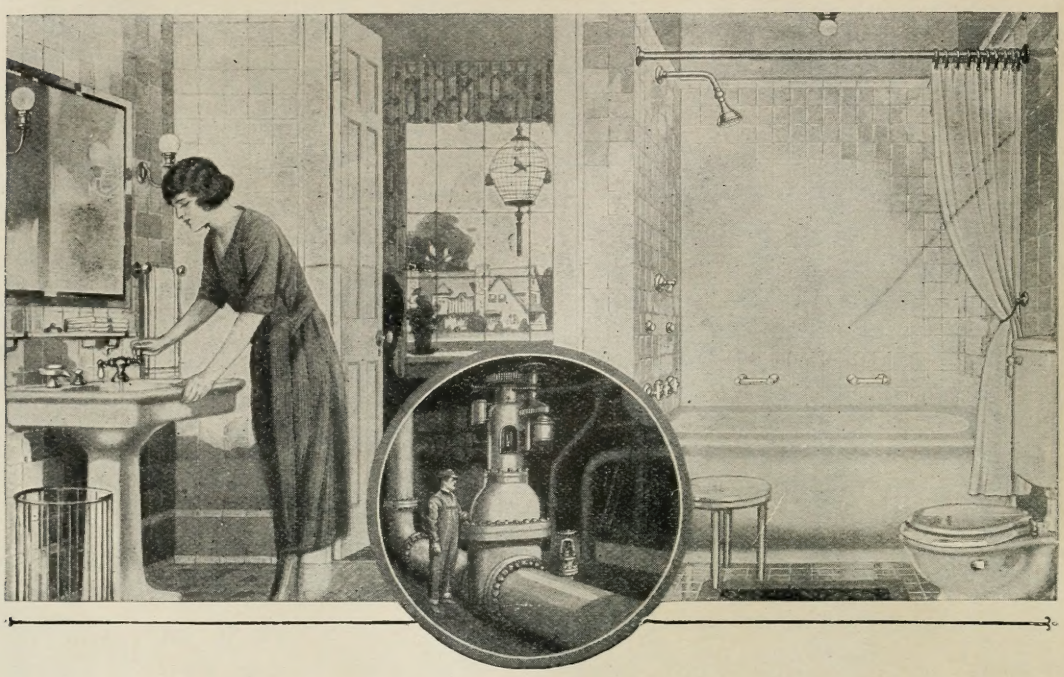

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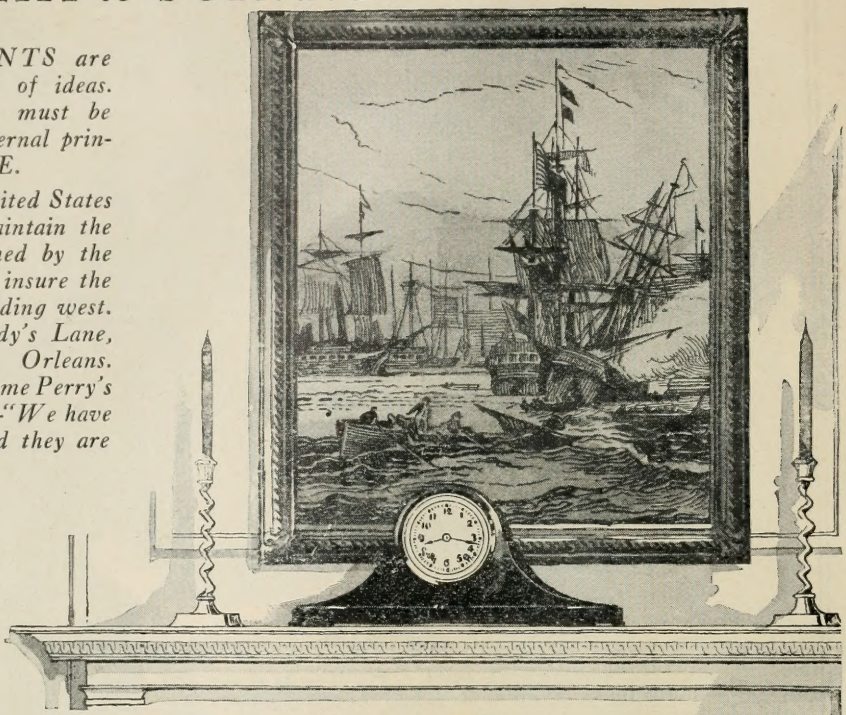

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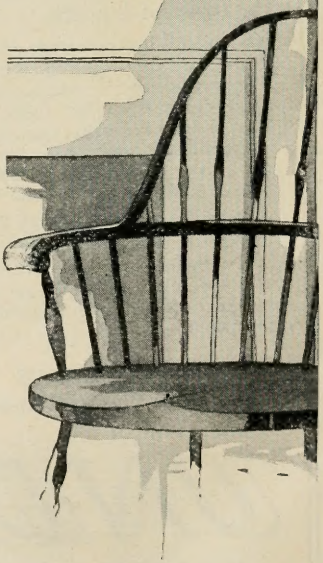

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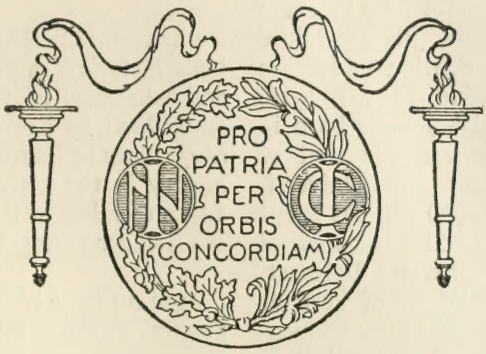

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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

FRANCISCO GARCÍA CALDERÓN, a son of the eminent Peruvian statesman, educator and former president of Perú, Francisco García Calderón, and one of four brothers —the others were Ventura, Juan and José (José was killed while fighting under the French colors over Verdun, May 5, 1916, at the age of twenty-eight)—was born in Lima about 1884; he was educated at Lima (at La Recoleta and at the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos); he has spent most of his life in France; he is a man of letters, historian, journalist and diplomat, being at present the minister of Perú at the Hague; among his works may be mentioned *América latina* (translated into English with the title *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*) and *La creación de un continente;* for another article by him, see "The Crisis in Neutrality," INTER-AMERICA for February, 1918, page 176.

MANUEL GÁLVEZ: see INTER-AMERICA for August, 1921, Biographical Data, page 336.

MAX HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA was born in Santo Domingo, República Dominicana, November 16, 1885, but be became a citizen of Cuba some years ago; he has spent a number of years in the United States, Cuba and México; he is a doctor of laws of the Universidad de la Habana, a man of letters, a journalist and an educator; he has served as secretary to the presidency of the República Dominicana; he founded the Sociedad de Conferencias de la Habana and the magazine *Cuba Literaria;* he has edited *La Discusión, El Fígaro* and *La Lucha,* of Cuba, *El Diario,* of the city of México, and *La Gaceta,* of Guadalajara; for some years he has been the director of the Escuela Normal de Santiago, Cuba; he is the author of many books, articles and published addresses, among which may be mentioned the following works: "Whistler y Rodin" (address); *Anforas* (poems); *Tres poetas de la música; La combinación diplomática: juguete cómico; Rodó y Rubén Darío;* and "El ocaso del dogmatismo literario," an article published with the title "The Decline of Literary Dogmatism" in INTER-AMERICA for February, 1920, page 178.

GABRIEL PORRAS TROCONIS is a Colombian historian, man of letters, journalist and educator; he was born in Cartagena de Indias; he has edited la *Revista Contemporánea* of Cartagena; he is professor of history in the Universidad de Cartagena, and a member of the academies of history of Cartagena, Bogotá and Caracas.

ALEJANDRO ÁLVAREZ was born in La Serena, on the coast of Chile north of Santiago, fifty-two years ago; he studied in the Liceo de La Serena, and he received his degree in laws at the Universidad de Chile, in Santiago; he has spent much time in the United States and in Europe, and he writes in Spanish, French and English; he has been a professor of international law in the Universidad de Chile and legal counselor of the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores; he was a member of the permanent court of arbitration at the Hague from 1917 until 1918, he was a delegate to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, held at Washington, December-January, 1915-1916, and he has represented his country in many international bodies; he is the author of many important works on international law and relations.

JUAN MANUEL POLAR: see INTER-AMERICA for June, 1921, Biographical Data.

MANUEL SEGUNDO SÁNCHEZ was born in Caracas, Venezuela, about fifty years ago, and for many years he has been the director of the Biblioteca Nacional at Caracas; he is a member of the Academia Nacional de la Historia of Venezuela, and of other learned bodies; he is the author of *Bibliografía venezolanista; Apuntes para la iconografía del Liberador,* and many other works and articles on bibliography and history.

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

BY

FRANCISCO GARCÍA CALDERÓN

At the moment when our northern world is giving particular attention to the great southern Liberator, we have had the good fortune to come upon the following article, written by a son of Perú, long resident in Europe, whose point of view, experience, literary ability and enthusiasm make his utterances particularly interesting and instructive, although the thoughtful reader will, as in every such case, question the propriety and utility of so broad a comparison as that which is established between Bolívar, San Martín and Washington, as when the author says of the Liberator that "he was greater than San Martín and greater than Washington."—THE EDITOR.

BOLÍVAR was the greatest of the American liberators: he was the Liberator. He excelled some in ambition, others in heroism, all in manifold activity, in prophetic gift, in dominance. In the midst of glorious generals and hostile leaders, he was Carlyle's "hero:"

> a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them.[1]

All powers gave way before him. "At times," wrote his adversary General Santander, "I approach Bolívar filled with a desire for vengeance, and merely by looking at him and hearing him I have been disarmed and have gone away filled with admiration. The people, with infallible instinct, deifies him, understands his heroic mission. The clergy exalts him, and in the mass of the Catholic churches the glory of Bolívar is sung between the epistle and the gospel."

He was a statesman and a warrior; he criticised Olmedo's[2] ode on the battle of Junín; he determined the form of a newspaper; he traced plans of battle; he organized legions; he drafted statutes; he gave counsels in diplomacy; he directed great campaigns; his genius was as rich, as diverse, as that of Nepoleon. The five nations that he liberated from the Spanish power seemed to him too narrow a stage for his magnificent action: he conceived a vast plan for a continental confederation. He gathered at Panamá the ambassadors of ten republics[3] and he dreamed already of an amphictyonic league of these democracies that should influence the destinies of the world.

Simón Bolívar was born at Caracas, July 24, 1783, of a noble Basque family. He traveled in his youth through Europe with his teacher Simón Rodríguez, an austere mentor; he read the Latin classics, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Holbach, Spinoza and the encyclopedists; he swore on the Aventine in Rome, in the presence of that teacher, like Hannibal of ancient days, to consecrate his life to the liberation of his country. His country was America.

He was characterized by nervousness, impetuosity, sensuality: traits of the American creole; he was active and constant in his enterprises, as a descendant of the tenacious Basques; generous, to the point of prodigality; valiant, to the point of madness. He had the attitude and the physiognomy of the leader: a high forehead, a slender neck, a luminous glance that impressed friends and enemies, a resolute walk, an elegant gesture. His was an individuality fashioned for action, without shillyshallies or fickleness; the figure and genius of an *imperator*. After his long journeys he fulfilled the oath of Rome. From 1812 until 1830 he fought against Spaniards and against his own generals, being indefatigable in his work of liberation. Two terrible

[1] *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, page 2.—We have taken the quotation from the English original rather than translate back from the author's Spanish version.—THE EDITOR.

[2] José Joaquín de Olmedo: *La victoria de Junín: canto a Bolívar*.—THE EDITOR.

[3] The countries actually represented were Colombia, Central America (then a federation) Mexico and Perú. —THE EDITOR.

Spanish leaders—Boves and Morillo—carried "war to the death" to Venezuela. Bolívar combated them, aided by Bermúdez, Arismendi, Piar, Ribas, Mariño, Páez, et cetera, lieutenants alternately docile and rebellious toward his martial activity. He was accompanied likewise, after 1818, by a legion of six or eight thousand British—officers and men—the most of whom disappeared during the war. From the Antilles he made up several expeditions; they appointed him supreme leader, provisional president, director of the campaign; his generals doubted him, envied him his prestige, conspired against his autocracy. Bolívar continued the war in the midst of Colombian anarchy; he beat the Spaniards on the Orinoco, and he captured Angostura (1817), which he erected into a temporary capital; at Boyacá (1819), and he occupied Bogotá; at Carabobo (1821), and he entered Caracas victoriously; at Bomboná and Pichincha (1822), and he conquered Ecuador and entered Quito.

Perú summoned the Liberator, the "great Bolívar, the hero of America." Impelled by his genius, he harkened to the Peruvian entreaty. The Colombian leader was not unaware of the dangers of this enterprise: the Spanish troops were veterans; they had been victorious for fourteen years; they had the resources of the sierra; and the Colombian and Peruvian allies were inferior to them in experience of the locality and in cohesiveness. "The business of the war in Perú requires immense concentration and inexhaustible resources," wrote the Liberator to Sucre. Nor did he forget that the "loss of Perú would necessarily involve that of all southern Colombia." The congress of Lima bestowed upon him "the supreme military authority in all the territory of the republic." Two great battles—Junín and Ayacucho (1824)—destroyed the Spanish power and secured the independence of all America. At Junín, Bolívar commanded a charge of cavalry that decided the victory. There took place a hand to hand struggle, a sonorous clash of sabers, without a shot.

Sucre was the hero of Ayacucho: he worked out an admirable plan of battle. There were six thousand patriots and nine thousand royalists; the Spanish artillery was superior to that of the allies. The fire of the enemies, who descended from the hills, began, and the lines of battle approached each other. Night brought a truce to the combatants; the officers of the two armies conversed in fraternal groups before the next battle. On the morning of December 6, a charge of cavalry by General Córdoba, "at the gait of conquerors," dispersed the royalist battalions. The Spanish reserve then took part, flanking the left of the patriots. The Peruvian line being reanimated, the victory became complete. The Spanish army capitulated; fourteen generals surrendered; Perú was abandonded by her ancient dominators. America was free!

Bolívar praised the heroism of Sucre, "the father of Ayacucho, the redeemer of the children of the sun." Lima deified the Liberator, declaring him the father and savior of Perú and president in perpetuity. After this victory, several secondary actions in Alto Perú,[4] the capture of Potosí, the overthrow and death of General Olañeta at Tumuslla, the surrender of the fort of Callao, where the penates of Spain were preserved, and the mastery of the Pacific completed the great military work of Bolívar. This military undertaking was, for extent, for importance and for the difficulties overcome, one of the greatest achievements ever accomplished by any soldier.

Bolívar's last years were melancholy, like the brief twilight of the tropics; obscure royalist leaders of guerrillas, who had passed over to the patriots, rose in insurrection; Córdoba rebelled; Páez and Santander conspired against his power; the first magistracy was successively intrusted to him and snatched from him; he was offered a crown, and his autocracy was rejected.

The Liberator died at Santa Marta, abandoned and tragic, on the deserted Colombian coast, facing the sea, like Napoleon on the bare Saxon island, at the age of forty-seven years, December 17, 1830.

Bolívar was a general and a statesman; he was as great in congresses as in battles.

[4]Upper Perú, now Bolivia.—THE EDITOR.

He was superior to all the leaders as a politician. He was a tribune. He was the thinker of the revolution: he drafted constitutions, analyzed the social state of the democracies he freed and announced the future with the precision of a seer.

He was the enemy of the idealogues, like the first consul; idealistic, romantic, ambitious for synthesis in ideas and in politics, he did not forget the rude conditions that beset his activity. His Latin dream seems to have been tempered by a Saxon realism. As an offset to anarchical democracy he restlessly sought a moral force. In 1823 he held: "The sovereignty of the people is unlimited; justice is its foundation and perfect utility sets bounds upon it." He was a republican: "since Napoleon [whom he so much admired] was a king," he said, "his glory seems to me to have been the glare of hell." He did not wish to be a Napoleon, nor, much less, an Itúrbide, in spite of the servile enthusiasm of his friends. He disdained imperial glories, that he might be a soldier of independence. He thoroughly analyzed the defects of a future monarchy in the former Spanish colonies.

In the conference of Guayaquil (1822), San Martín represented the monarchical tendencies: Bolívar, the republican principle. Their opposition was irreconcilable, said an Argentine historian, because one of them sought Argentine hegemony; the other, Colombian hegemony; San Martín represented the individuality of each people, and only by exception admitted interference; Bolívar undertook to unite different peoples, "according to an absorptive and monocratic plan." This antagonism demanded a superior term of agreement, a synthesis, because the Colombian doctrine caused, as a reaction, the premature formation of insecure democracies; and the Argentine theory favored indifference, selfishness and the isolation of nations united by race, tradition and history.

The genius, the aristocratic pride, the ambition of Bolívar drove him to autocracy. He exercised dictatorship, he believed in the benefits of a life presidency. "In the republic," he taught, "the executive must be the stronger, because everything conspires against him; while in monarchies the legislative branch ought to be the stronger, because everything conspires in favor of the monarch. These same advantages are those that ought to confirm the necessity of attributing to a republican magistrate a larger sum of authority than that which is possessed by a constitutional prince." He did not forget the dangers of an authoritarian presidency. He was disquieted by anarchy, which grew "as the ferocious hydra of discordant anarchy," like a noxious vegetation, choking his triumphant labors.

He contemplated with terror the contradictions of American life: disorder brings dictatorship, and dictatorship is the enemy of democracy. "The continuance of authority in the same individual," wrote the Liberator, "has frequently brought democratic governments to an end;" but also: "Indefinite liberty, absolute democracy, are the reefs on which all republican hopes have been dashed to pieces." Liberty without license, authority without tyranny: these were the ideals of Bolívar. In vain he struggled for them, amid ambitious generals and disorderly peoples.

He understood, before he died, the futility of his efforts. "Those that have served the revolution," he exclaimed, "have plowed in the sea. . . . If it were possible for one part of the world to return to primitive chaos, this would be the last period of America." He denounced the moral poverty of these new republics with the harshness of the Hebrew prophets: "There is no such thing as good faith in America, either between men or between nations. Treaties are scraps of paper; constitutions, books; elections, fights; liberty is anarchy; and life, a torment."

This pessimism, which was the creed of his maturity, was based on an implacable analysis of American defects. He comprehended the originality and the vices of the new continent. "We are," he said, "a small human genus; we possess a world apart, surrounded by broad seas; new in almost all the arts and sciences, although, in a certain way, old in the usages of civil society. I consider the present state of America like that which existed when, after the overthrow of the Roman empire, each dismembered part formed a political system, according to its interests, situation or corporations. . . ." "Neither we

nor the generation that is to succeed us," he said in 1822, "will see the splendor of the America we are founding. I consider America to be in the chrysalis stage; there will be a metamorphosis in the physical existence of her inhabitants; at length there will be a new caste of all the races, which will produce the homogeneity of the peoples."

While the doctors were building utopias, imitating in improvised statutes the federal constitution of the United States, legislating for an ideal democracy, Bolívar was studying the social conditions of America. "We are not Europeans," he wrote, "we are not Indians, but a species half-way between the aborigines and the Spaniards; Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves in the conflict of disputing with the natives over titles of possession and of maintaining ourselves in the country that witnessed our birth, against the opposition of invaders; so our case is the most extraordinary and complicated." "Let us bear in mind," he added, "that our peoples are neither Europeans nor North Americans; that they are rather a compound of Africa and America, with an emanation of Europe; for even Spain herself is not European, because of her African (Arab) blood, her institutions and her character."

The Liberator proposed new political forms adequate to a continent, unique in territory, race and history. He defined titular authority: "The American states require the care of paternal governments that shall cure the sores and the wounds of despotism and war." He execrated federalism and the division of the executive power. "*Let us abandon federal forms*, for they do not suit us," he said. "Such a social form is regulated anarchy, or, rather, the law that prescribes implicitly the duty of disassociation and the destruction of the state, with all its members. . . . Let us abandon the triumvirate in the executive power and let us concentrate it in the president by bestowing upon him sufficient authority to enable him to maintain himself while struggling against the difficulties inherent to our recent situation."

He gave noble lessons in political wisdom:

> In order to form a stable government, there is required a foundation of national spirit that shall have as its object a uniform inclination toward two capital points: the moderation of the general will and the limitation of public authority. The blood of our citizens is diverse: let us mix it in order to unite it; our constitution has divided authority: let us join it together in order to unite it. . . . The immigration of people from Europe and North America must be fostered in order that they may establish themselves here, bringing with them their arts and their sciences. These advantages—an independent government, free schools, and marriages with Europeans and Anglo-Americans—would change the whole character of the people and render them cultured and prosperous. . . . We lack mechanics and cultivators of the soil, who are what the country needs for its advancement and prosperity.

In the writings of Bolívar is to be found the best program of political and social reforms for America. He was the first sociologist of the romantic democracies.

His epopee is composed of some five hundred martial actions, engaged in by himself or by his lieutenants and aids: Taguanes, Araure, 1813; first Carabobo, San Mateo, 1814; Angostura, 1817; Calabozo, 1918; Pantano de Vargas, Boyacá, 1819; Carabobo, 1821; Bomboná, 1822; Ibarra, 1823; and Junín, 1824, were his great military victories. The letter from Jamaica, 1815, the constitutional project of Angostura, 1819, the statute of Bolivia, 1825, and the congress of Panamá, 1826, are his admirable accomplishments in the political world. To gather the divided nations of America in a permanent assembly; to oppose America to Europe, and the Latin power of the south—a factor necessary to the preservation of the continental equilibrium—to the Saxon power of the north; to labor for unity and synthesis, was the plan of the fruitless assembly of Panamá.

The letter from Jamaica is a prophecy fulfilled by the modest reality of the last century.

"Because of the nature of the localities, wealth, population and character of the Mexicans," said the Liberator, "I imagine they will undertake at the beginning to establish a representative republic in which great power will be given to the executive,

it being concentrated in one individual, who, if he discharges his functions with wisdom and justice, will almost naturally retain a life authority. If the preponderant party is military or aristocratic, it will probably demand a monarchy, which at the beginning will be limited and constitutional, and later will necessarily degenerate into absolutism." The presidency of Porfirio Díaz, the empires of Itúrbide and Maximilian, supported by the monarchical party, the dictatorship of Juárez itself and the power that the Mexican constitutions conferred on the head of the state confirmed the predictions of Bolívar.

To the Liberator, Panamá was the center of the universe:

> Its canals will reduce the distances of the world; they will draw more closely together the conventional bonds of Europe, America and Asia, and they will bring to this happy region the tributes of the four quarters of the globe. Perhaps only there can one day be established the capital of the earth, as Constantine held Byzantium to be that of the old hemisphere.
>
> Nueva Granada will unite with Venezuela, if they are able to agree to form a central republic, whose capital will be Maracaibo; or a new city with the name of Las Casas, in honor of the hero of philanthropy, will be formed between the frontiers of the two countries, upon the superb port of Bahía Honda.

Bolívar kept Nueva Granada and Venezuela united until 1830; the new leaders desired to reëstablish that federation; and to-day it is the longing of the peoples of Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia.

> In Buenos Aires there will be a central government in which the soldiers will occupy the first place, as a consequence of internal divisons and external wars.

The history of Argentina, until the advent of Rosas, was a struggle of leaders, the anarchy of 1820. "This constitution will necessarily degenerate into an *oligarchy* or a *monocracy*." In truth, a plutocratic group dominated in Buenos Aires, and on partizan leadership was erected the *monocracy* of Rosas.

> Chile is destined, by her situation, the innocent customs of her virtuous inhabitants, the example of her neighbors, the fierce republicans of Arauco, to enjoy the blessings that spring from the just and humane laws of a republic. If any republic endures for a long time in America, I am inclined to think it will be the Chilean. . . . She will not alter her laws, her uses and her practices; she will maintain her uniformity in political and religious opinions.

The long stability of the Chilean nation, the homogeneity of her population, the efficacious duration of her political charter, the conservative character of her institutions, her firm and slow development, until the war of the Pacific and the revolution of 1891, fulfilled completely the predictions of Bolívar.

Perú contains

> two elements inimical to a just and liberal régime: *gold* and *slaves*. The former corrupts everything; the latter is corrupt in itself. The soul of the slave rarely succeeds in appreciating wholesome liberty. It becomes furious in tumults and humble in chains. Although these rules would be applicable to all America, I think they apply more justly to Lima. The rich do not tolerate democracy there; nor slaves and freedmen, aristocracy; the former would prefer the tyranny of a single person in order not to suffer from tumultuary persecutions and to establish at least a peaceful order.

The evolution of Perú has demonstrated the insight of this prophecy: saltpeter and guano created, through scandalous monopolies, sterile private fortunes that corrupted and enervated the ruling class. An indefinite cross-breeding maintained anarchy. The oligarchy accepted military doctrines that protected property and brought peace. After 1815, when America was a Spanish dominion, Bolívar, intent on the spectacle of social forces in conflict, announced not only the impending struggles, but the secular development of ten nations. He was a great prophet! To-day, after a century, the continent fulfils his predictions, as if he had been a divining conjurer.

At Angostura, the Liberator delivered to the consideration of the Colombians the plan of a constitution. The bases of it were republican government, the sovereignty of the people, the division of authority, civil liberty, the proscription of slavery and of privileges. In that noble

effort were consolidated the theories of Montesquieu, Rousseau and Bentham: English realism and the democratic enthusiasm of France. The legislative power was to consist of two chambers: the first to be chosen by popular election; the senate was to be hereditary, in harmony with the Saxon tradition, and composed of the liberators, who would found the aristocracy of America. The president was to be in the nature of a constitutional king, and his ministers, being responsible, were to govern. The judicial power would acquire stability and independence.

A new authority, *moral power*, was to complete this political picture. It was—in the republic of the Liberator—an original combination of the Athenian Areopagus and the Roman censors; it was to be intrusted with education, morality and the enforcement of law; "it would chastise vices with opprobrium and infamy, and reward public virtues with honors and glories." Bolívar tended to intellectual and moral despotism: this tribunal would impose good habits. Later, the Liberator, obliged by the terrible reality of the environment, condemned the texts of Bentham in the universities of Colombia and accepted Catholicism as an instrument of government. The second article of the plan of Angostura held that "ingratitude, the disobedience of parents, of husbands, of the aged, of citizens of recognized and declared virtues; the failure to keep one's word in any matter whatsoever, insensibility toward political misfortunes or toward friends or near relatives, were to be placed especially under the vigilance of the *moral power*," which might punish them "even for a single act."

It was paternal tyranny over sentiments, conduct and passions.

Bolívar created from provinces of Argentina and Perú a republic—Alto Perú—which was to be called Bolivia, in memory of its founder; he gave to it a political statute, the Bolivian constitution, which he desired in vain to impose upon Perú and Colombia. It was a development of the idea set forth in the attempt of Angostura, and it defined his ideal of a republic. It was almost a monarchy, in which authority was not hereditary. The president was to be for life and irresponsible, "because in systems without hierarchy is needed, more than in any others, a fixed point, around which may revolve magistrates and citizens, men and things:" against anarchy, a life chief; against tyranny, independent authorities: the judiciary, elected by the congress from among those designated by the electoral colleges; the legislative, composed of three chambers: tribunes, senators and censors. The first were to hold office for four years; the second, for eight; the last were elected for life: "they exercised a political and moral power," they were to constitute the *moral power*.

By this original system the Liberator sought to prevent political anarchy, the disintegrating ambition of the *caudillos*;[5] to constitute two stable forces in uncertain democracies: the censors and a life president; and to adapt to the republic unity and permanency the characteristics of the constitutional monarchy.

The generals soon realized that this constitution would be a menace to their ambition, and they rose against it in Bolivia, Perú and Colombia.

However, above rivals, leaders and lieutenants, rose—an oak among lesser trees, according to the classic image—Bolívar, the Liberator of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia: the founder, in short, of South American independence. "The continent was liberated by him," said Mitre himself, an historian that was so adverse to Bolívar.

He was the genius of the American revolution: the creator, captain and prophet. He felt within him "the demon of war." Like the great tormented souls—from Socrates down—he obeyed, in his impetuous campaigns, an inner divinity. In his acts and in his discourses, in his restlessness, in his dignity and in his faith, there was unique grandeur. He built for eternity; he accumulated dreams and utopias; he conquered the hostile land and anarchical men; he was the superman of Nietzsche, the representative person of Emerson. He belonged to the ideal family of Napoleon and Cæsar; the sublime creator of nations, he was greater than San Martín and greater than Washington.

[5]Partizan leaders, petty chiefs.—THE EDITOR.

EMILIA PARDO BAZAN

BY

MANUEL GÁLVEZ

Although doña Emilia Pardo Bazán was not an American, this article comes well within the scope of INTER-AMERICA, we think, both because this distinguished writer exerted a great influence on the America of Spanish speech, and because the article itself is the product of an American, written from an essentially American point of view. It is particularly illuminating in its treatment of the countess in her aspects as narrator, prose writer and critic. The author's remarks regarding what he conceives to be the defects of Spanish literature, as a whole; the essence of criticism; doña Emilia's broadening influence on her countrymen; and the Hispanic-American attitude toward even the best novelists of the peninsula, are significant and interesting.—THE EDITOR.

DOÑA EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN has died at the age of sixty-eight years. Her work, although enormous, was not completed. She leaves unfinished and unpublished one of her most important works— *La literatura francesa moderna*—in which she got only as far as naturalism; and unquestionably to the three volumes she could have added two others, which should treat of symbolism and modern literature; for the writer was in the enjoyment of her full intellectual powers, and no indication could be noted of a diminution of her talent.

In the writings of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, which consist of forty-two volumes —not counting many uncollected pages and many books not included in her complete works—three essential aspects may be differentiated: those of the narrator, the prose writer and the critic.

In the narrator we ought to consider the novelist and the writer of stories. The señora Pardo Bazán gave the world fifteen novels. She has been judged principally as a novelist; nevertheless, this is not the literary activity in which she excelled most. I prefer her as a story-writer, and, in respect of the literature of her country, as a critic.

As a novelist, the señora Pardo Bazán was inferior to Pereda, Galdós and Palacio Valdés. She was not a creator of great characters, and her conceptions, although never vulgar, are lacking in genius. Her true talent consisted in her ability to evoke environment, above all, that of the regional picture. It is impossible to forget *Los pazos de Ulloa*, a vigorous novel comparable to Pereda's *Peñas arriba*. Nor did she reveal aptitude for analysis, although I do not say she was wanting in it. She possessed an essentially realistic temperament, and she expressed reality in a synthetic, concentrated manner.

No one in Spain was better endowed to comprehend naturalism, and she did comprehend it. Nevertheless, in the prologue to one of her first novels—*Un viaje de novios* —she rejected rather than defended it; but *Un viaje de novios* is not exactly a naturalistic book. The naturalism of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, timid in *Pascual López*, in *Un viaje de novios* and even in *La tribuna*, is revealed in its sincerity and force only in that magnificent novel I have mentioned, doubtless her best, and which bears as a title: *Los pazos de Ulloa*.

Passing over for the present her theoretical interpretation of naturalism, I think she never achieved it in fact. Her naturalism is far removed, not only from that of Zola, but also from that of Flaubert and that of the Goncourts. I do not say this because of the sense of life that characterized these writers, nor much less because the Spanish novelist did not carry the note of crudity to the extreme. There is another reason. Naturalism not only attaches to material things an exceptional importance and gives them an exceptional place—higher than, or at least equal to, souls—but it considers souls, characters, temperaments, as products of the environment, both physical and moral. In Flaubert, the true creator of naturalism, in the Goncourts, in Zola, in Maupassant, the disciple and continuator of these masters, the lives of personages are "determined" by all that precedes them and surrounds them. In the novels

of the señora Pardo Bazán the environment usually occupies a considerable space, but it does not "determine" the personages.

There is, besides, in this difference between the naturalists and the Spanish writer a question of literary procedure. Naturalism is, in the main, an affair of technic, and the señora Pardo Bazán never practised or attempted to practise the naturalistic technic. Her novels are composed "in the Spanish manner," I should say. For us Americans, educated on French literature, they are hardly to be distinguished from those of Pereda, and we see in them nothing similar to those of Zola. Her admiration of the Goncourts was not translated into a profound influence of these writers on her work.

Possessing a vital mind, impregnated with modern literature and tendencies, doña Emilia Pardo Bazán soon abandoned her regional realism and wrote idealistic novels, almost mystical: *La quimera; Dulce dueño;* and *La sirena negra.* She revealed in these books the ductility of her talent, but she did not succeed in accomplishing anything that approaches *La madre naturaleza,* nor much less *Los pazos de Ulloa.* Here we have demonstrated the error of those that believe that authors ought to follow at all hazards the currents of their times. Doña Emilia, desiring to make herself modern, wrote *Dulce dueño,* and, nevertheless, more modern is *Los pazos de Ulloa,* in which she described an environment like that of the Galician novels of Valle Inclán.

Very superior to the novelist seems to me the author of *Cuentos de Marineda*—Marineda is La Coruña—of *Cuentos sacroprofanos* and of some ten other volumes, in all of which are to be found many small masterpieces. In all Spanish and Hispano-American literature, I am acquainted with no two volumes of short narratives comparable to the two just mentioned. One is surprised by the variety of imagination and subjects, the sobriety, the grace and the sentiment.

Although in these lines no attempt is made at a complete judgment of the novelistic work of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, I think I ought not to forget one of its most interesting characteristics, that is, its feminity. Perhaps for the first time in Spanish literature a woman has spoken as a woman. In her novels appears with frankness and audacity the feminine point of view in love and sensuality; but I do not need to add anything more on this point, since all that could be said has already been written by Gregorio Martínez Sierra in certain very beautiful and perspicacious pages included in his book *Motivos.*

We shall now speak, however, of what an admirable prose writer doña Emilia Pardo Bazán was. After Pereda, no one has written with so much vigor as she. Her vocabulary was of a vastness that is startling to such writers as we, who are American and not a little Frenchified. Most of the American prose writers, the writers of good prose—Rodó, Ricardo Rojas, Enrique Larreta, Manuel Díaz Rodríguez—make use of a meager language; the merit of their style resides in elegance of phrase and in rhythm. If any one—Lugones, for example—uses a considerable vocabulary, we readily become aware of effort in his prose. Anybody can see that Lugones, in *La guerra gaucha,* for instance, has scoured the dictionary for rare words, in order to incorporate them, by hook or by crook, in the pages of that work. In the prose of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán everything is spontaneous. That language, which at times might be said to be of stone, that quantity of stones, that enormous wealth of expression, came to her simply, as something that was within her, something that was natural to her literary temperament.

A Spanish critic that at times has true insight—Andrés González Blanco—considers the señora Pardo Bazán the precursor of artistic prose in Spain; and so authoritative a writer as "Clarín" has compared her with the Goncourts. "Of all the novelists of naturalism," said "Clarín," "the Goncourts are those that paint the most and are the most enamoured of color. The señora Pardo Bazán is, of all the novelists of Spain, the one that paints the most; in her novels it may be seen that she is enamoured of color, and that she knows how to spread upon the canvas splashes of clarity like Claudio Lorena."

More than of the Goncourts, however, the señora Pardo Bazán reminds me of Fromentin, the first to apply to literature the pictorial process. In the Goncourts there is a fineness of color, a keen sense of shades, that is lacking in the Spanish writer. In the Goncourts, words are as if "spiritualized," I should say, that they may serve as the vehicle of sensation. In the Galician novelist the color is crude, thick, and sensation is barely achieved. Her prose—too rich, too varied in turns, too heavily burdened with words, and with words excessively strong, stony, highly colored—hinders sensation. In that prose the word is the essential. In that of the Goncourts, sensation is the essential, and the word is a means of producing it.

An interesting comparison, and one that would carry us deeply into the characteristics of the prose of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, would be one that might be made between her prose and that of Valle Inclán. Lacking time for a work of this nature, I shall limit myself to recalling that page of *Los pazos de Ulloa* in which the Pazo de Limioso, in complete ruin and decomposition, is described. It is a very beautiful page. It approaches modern artistic prose in an extraordinary manner, and, nevertheless, we do not have a deep vision, a penetrating sensation, of that ruined palace. Let us compare this page—so rich in vocabulary, so strong, so virile—with those pages, saturated with melancholy, of the *Sonata de otoño*, in which Valle Inclán evokes the old palace of Brandeso.

Doña Emilia's prose prejudices her novels: the story, the descriptions of landscapes, the sensations, the analysis, even the dialogue. It is a great prose, but not the one that suits a novelist. Anatole France has written that a novelist ought not to write too well; and he is right, above all, if we are to understand "writing well" in the sense of writing with artifice. Novelistic prose ought not to be excessively literary. It ought to be bare, simple, with the necessary color—never with an excess of color—and with the necessary music, but never with the rhythm of oratory. It is doubtless because of her prose that the novels of the Galician writer do not move us. To us Americans that noise of words is wearisome and displeasing, and for the same reason Pereda, unquestionably a great writer and a vigorous novelist, is unbearable to us. Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, both because of her literary ideas and her style, was a precursor of modernism. This was recognized by Valle Inclán, one of the initiators of Spanish modernism, in a lecture that he gave here in Buenos Aires; and I recall having heard him say that he learned to write by reading the books of doña Emilia.

There remains the critic. Of course, doña Emilia Pardo Bazán was not an extraordinarily profound critic. She rarely judged a writer or doctrine in a new manner. If, however, criticism is a true mastership, are original points of view so important? Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán did not see very far into things, like Brunetière in another time and like Pierre Lasserre now; but it seems to me indubitable that she saw everything. There was nothing essential in an author or a doctrine that escaped her, and thus she succeeded in giving us an objective, impartial and complete opinion. Her studies of Zola, the Goncourts, Barbey d'Aurevilly and some others have impressed me as definitive, as if, in respect of critical judgment, there would never be anything to change in them. It might be said to be the permanent and enduring opinion, the opinion of common sense and sound judgment.

I have written elsewhere, speaking of this great writer:

> If the essential quality of the critic is this—comprehension—it seems unquestionable to me that she possessed it to an unlimited degree; and because she understood everything she could be impartial; but her comprehension was not that of the skeptic, that of one who has lost the ability to become impassioned. Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán understood doctrines in a vital manner. If she set them forth, no one did so with such exactitude; and if she refuted them, her arguments, presented with a rarely intelligent honesty, were of an unanswerable power.

I add here that she also possessed other qualities indispensable to the critic: serenity of spirit and a perfect sense of justice. It is curious to observe how, at the height of the discussion of naturalism, amid the

general malevolence, stupidity and ignorance, she never lost her serenity and her sense of justice. She explained the new doctrine with a perspicacity, sobriety and impartiality truly notable. In none of the pages of the masterpiece that bears the title of *La cuestión palpitante*, and with which all cultivated minds ought to be acquainted, did she demonstrate either indignation or sectarianism, or even excessive enthusiasm. She fought alone, it may be said, and with all Spain against her: the aristocratic society to which she belonged, the clergy, the great writers and the press, which, as occurs in such cases, had to exhibit grossness, lack of comprehension and ignorance. She judged doctrine as if she were an outsider and not a disciple, pointing out its merits and its errors. The same is true of her chapters on Zola and the other masters of naturalism. She caused to stand out the determinism of the giant of Medan—which was to her a great defect—and she defended him against all those that accused him of not being an artist. To her Zola was refined, even to quintessence; and among other probatory examples of his mind as an artist, she cited the case—very eloquent indeed—of the novel *Une page d'amour*, in which he described a city five times, at different hours of the day, a display that may be compared with that of Claude Monet, when, with a bit of the cathedral of Rouen as a theme, he made seventeen different pictures.

Impartiality, serenity, the admirable critical spirit of doña Emilia Pardo Bazán, induced her to modify the opinions she expressed in *La cuestión palpitante* regarding the naturalists, although these modifications were not fundamental, for this would be impossible in a writer of her learning, her solidity of judgment and her doctrine. Some one has considered the señora Pardo Bazán a divulger rather than a critic; but this opinion is unjust. So, if we observe that book of hers that might be considered a work of divulgation—*La revolución y la novela en Rusia*—we find that, if, indeed, there is in it much, very much, of Vogué's beautiful book *Le roman russe*, there are also interesting personal opinions, as would be inevitable.

Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán was a living soul: in proportion as she lived, her work adapted itself to the times. Her sensibility, her style, her sense of life, underwent incessant transformation. She wrote:

> Whatever be the judgment that the present and future generations shall pronounce regarding the new forms of art, the mind is drawn to the study of them by the powerful attraction of that which lives, that which breathes: the present, in fine. The passing hour may or may not be the most beautiful of the day; it may not bring us solar heat or the tender light of the moon; but, after all, it is the hour in which we live.

These words seem to me suggestive and important in a country where many writers, some of the first rank, look only toward the past, imitating the past, thinking of the past.

Not only did doña Emilia belong to her times, but she was also a European writer. The greatest defect of Spanish literature, taken as a whole, is its "provincialism!" Few are the Spanish writers that conciliate what is Spanish with what is universal. There is in them an excessive liking for the regional that repels foreigners. Although they do not say so, they reveal a contempt for what is foreign, a baseless pride, a sort of "non-conformity" with civilization and modernity. Pereda is unbearable to us, and we can hardly read Valera. Spanish writers, because of their lack of internationality, are untranslatable. No one understands them outside of Spain. Galdós himself, although so great, is excessively regional; and if not always so in his subjects, he is so in his manner of seeing, feeling and composing.

It occurs to me now that in literature, and in view of the great differences in customs and sentiments between the peoples of the earth, the universal consists not in the commonness of customs and sentiments, but in the manner of treating them; and does not this manner of treating them consist of a series of literary standards that spring from the great literatures, from those that dominate the world and circulate everywhere: English literature and, above all, French literature? The most universal writers—the French—are they not so precisely because they write for the whole

world? The truth is that in Spain the only universal writers, that are translated successfully into French, English, German and other languages, are those that have received a powerful English or French influence: Palacio Valdés, Valle Inclán, Blasco Ibáñez, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Jacinto Benavente. It is true that the best novels of the great Galician writer are regional; but it is also true that there are in them certain French influences, if not in respect of subjects or characters or environment, at least in respect of the manner of selecting them, distributing the materials and setting them forth. The extreme purists, who think they are praising themselves by calling themselves very Spanish and old-fashioned, condemn doña Emilia Pardo Bazán for her universal curiosity, her Europeanizing spirit, her admiration of French literature, so superior, nevertheless, so infinitely superior, to Spanish.

To terminate these hasty lines, written merely to oblige the directors of *Nosotros*, who honor me by using them to render homage to the glorious author of so many beautiful books, I desire to recall that, Galdós being dead, the Countess de Pardo Bazán was the first literary figure of contemporary Spain. She was such because of the vastness, the solidity and the transcendence of her work; because of her ceaseless contribution to the modernization of Spanish prose; because of her great talent and her immense learning; because of the influence that she exercised upon the writers of the generation that has followed her; and even because of her work of culture, by means of which Spain acquired a knowledge of the best minds of the great European nations.

OPTIMISM, IDEALISM, PATRIOTISM[1]

BY

MAX HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA

A baccalaureate address by one of the leading Cuban educators, in which he develops his theme with rare discernment, perception of the difficulties that lie in the path of the teacher, and intensity of feeling, all tempered by justness of vision and moderation, with the natural and inevitable outcropping of sensitiveness and apprehension in the presence of the overshadowing menace of the not always rightly understood, but not usually wholly misapprehended, United States.—THE EDITOR.

THE event that we celebrate to-day is, beyond doubt, very great. For the first time in the history of this normal school, after the completion of the four years of your regular studies, and after satisfactorily complying with all the requirements demanded by the law, you, a not inconsiderable group of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, have just received the diplomas that entitle you to excercise the arduous profession of teaching. After much work and the burning of the midnight oil, you are able to attain and to experience, as a tangible reality, the ideal realm that was once the remote horizon of your ambitions. You are face to face with a new outlook; you are face to face with life. Until yesterday, the future alone was yours; to-day the present claims you.

You are entering upon life—for youth is but a lighted portal that admits you to a labyrinth of darkness—with a smile of triumph depicted on your lips. Spring is yours. The surrounding world, it might be said, quivers and sings as you pass, for your hearts are filled with hope and enthusiasm.

For us who have had the happiness to be your mentors and friends, and who have already experienced more than once the aridities of the road upon which you are entering to-day, you are also a reflorescence of enthusiasm and hope. You are the legatees of our ideals and our longings, and therefore we behold in you a prolongation of ourselves. In the torch races of ancient Greece, the lamp-bearer that lighted his brand at the altar of Minerva and dashed away to deliver it to his next successor, never looked back: his gaze, fascinated by the light that receded from him, followed with growing anxiety the progress of the race, and all his being quivered with fear lest the torch should go out before reaching the hands of a new runner, who in turn was to continue the mad flight and deliver it to another lamp-bearer from among those that formed the endless chain along which was to pass, from hand to hand, the sacred flame. One after another, they all followed with anxious gaze the flashing of the hieratic torch, whose light must not be extinguished.

Be not surprised therefore by the emotion that stirs us when we behold you entering the path to the future, whose shadow you are to fill with splendor by means of the sacred torch we have placed in your hands.

In your hands the torch will not be quenched. Your hands are pure and uncontaminated, and the fire of enthusiasm that burns in your young hearts will feed the flickerng flame whensoever the rebellious breezes, in complicity with darkness, seek to rob you of it. Yield not to adversity until you shall have delivered the torch into safe hands, and afterward continue to bestow upon it from afar the warmth of hope with the fire of your eyes.

The path you are to tread is intricate. Pardon us if hitherto we have only let you feel once in a while, as you gathered the flowers of the garden of Minerva, the slight prick of a rose thorn. You have not felt your flesh torn by the bramble brier that you will encounter as you press onward. Alas! perhaps there will be rude hands that will weave you a crown from them. If this should be your lot, do not bow your fore-

[1]An address delivered by the director of the Escuela Normal de Oriente, Santiago, Cuba, at the graduation of the first normal school-teachers graduated at this school, October 1, 1920.

heads before the weight that oppresses them; raise them with stoicism; for in them you hold your redemption.

You are in the first moment of your Via Crucis, as Hostos[2] said on a similar occasion. You come from the ideal; you go toward the real. You have been dreaming like Kant, that life is beauty; you will awake and understand that it is duty.

Life has its categorical imperatives, it is true; but in duty there is also beauty. An harmonious and fruitful life is always beautiful. Your mission as educators is not to be any longer merely to feel beauty, but to create it by the harmonious example of your life and your teaching. To make life beautiful by molding characters and consciences: this is to be your work.

What I would say to you is that your first mission is not to instruct, but to educate; and that above the didactic purpose of teaching, you ought always to set the ethical and esthetic purpose, which is the one that makes the work of the teacher luminous and imperishable.

Do not hesitate therefore to impart to your teaching the essence of the purest idealism. The only religion of the laical republic is the religion of the ideal: "that human religion," as Balzac called it. It is, after all, the only religion that has not fallen into bankruptcy in the presence of the energetic postulates of contemporary science.

In the name of science, teach how to seek truth; but never reject, in the name of science, the idealism necessary to life. Peoples without ideals are peoples that are committing suicide. Men without ideals are men that debase themselves.

The teacher that affirms that man does not need ideals, because he is no more than a toy that spins, at the impulse of blind causes, amid the darknesses of instinct, does but calumniate science and deny the indefinite persistence of the work of education. In this way he succeeds merely in forming generations of skeptics, for whom human acts will have no moral value and for whom life will possess no finality. To what end is the longing for perfection, to what end educative effort, if this effort is to be shattered against the tyranny of the laws of fate? To what end is the regal faculty of self-determination, if will be nothing more than an illusion of our minds? To what end is the resolve to do right, if life is a struggle, and in the struggle for existence pity is a hindrance and only the strongest is to triumph?

What a tremendous moral shock for those that emerge to conscious life filled with generous enthusiasm! In the name of what or of whom may the hearts of the new generations be thus envenomed? In the name of truth? Who possesses it, where is it to be found, since humanity has debated it for thousands of years, without any one's being able to touch, if you will, the hem of its garment? "Give me the truth," cried Hostos, "and I shall give you the world."

"We know not whence we come, nor whither we go." "We know," as said our great Varona, "that man is not free, in the metaphysical sense. Yet we know also that he is able, he wishes and he ought to free himself from the yoke of low passions by the contemplation, the practice and the love of the higher sentiments, of which the one of most social importance, the moral one therefore, is duty."

To doubt that education may be a determining force in social dynamics is to deny the importance of social forces over the individual; to affirm that man is blind to such a degree that he is unable, by progressively inhibitory acts, to use his intelligence, in order to follow a definite course, is to deny, at the very least, the psychological fact of a conflict of motives and the process of deliberation; to consider the moral sense of right as an abstraction with-

[2]Eugenio María de Hostos y Bonilla, a noted philosopher, moralist, sociologist, writer on constitutional and penal law and the law of nations, and man of letters: he was born in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, January 11, 1839, and he died in 1903; he spent much of his early life in Cuba and he became interested in Cuban independence, later traveling in behalf of it through most of the American countries, lecturing, appealing for money and moral support and scattering brilliant and kindly thoughts. Among his major works may be mentioned: *La peregrinación de Bayoyán*; his analysis of *Hamlet*, said to have been plagiarized by Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree in his work *Thoughts and Afterthoughts; Tratado de sociologia; Comentarios de derecho constitucional;* and, in lighter vein, his comedies: *¿Quién preside? El cumpleaños; La enfermita*; and *El naranjo*. For an interesting and suggestive sketch of him, see Rufino Blanco Fombona's sketch, *Eugenio María de Hostos*, in his volume *Grandes escritores de América*, Madrid, 1917, pages 173-221.—THE EDITOR.

out foundation, reduced to dust by the law that governs the struggle for existence, is to be ignorant of the very essence of social phenomena, which can be based only on the support of solidarity that imposes standards of conduct upon the individual.

However, even if it were not so, goodness is a pleasure. The most complete happiness can be attained only by doing right. All the pleasures pass, vanish, are the patrimony of the moment; what alone subsists, to inundate the human consciousness with light and placid well-being, is the satisfaction of doing right. Therefore Martí said:

When 'neath the weight of the cross
Man to die makes resolution,
Forth he fares to do the right, does it and returns
As if from a very bath of light.

The ideal of goodness: behold the supreme aspiration of man! The idealists, from Jesus Christ to José Martí, have been the only ones that have wrought a redemptive work in the world.

We are in need of just this idealism. We say with regret, but with energy: In Cuba we are passing through an historic moment that is characterized by the subversion of all the moral values.

It might be said that we are groping along a road beset with pitfalls. Any uncertain step may precipitate us into the abyss, and, nevertheless, we dare to attempt at every step a somersault in space.

However, the example of other peoples —painful and to be avoided—is before us for our instruction. Our problems are the same as theirs: the external circumstances alone are different. The exceptional geographical position of Cuba, the marvelous development of her wealth, her preponderating importance in the production of one of the most necessary articles of consumption: all the circumstances, in short, that constitute the foundation of national greatness in the material realm and that ought to be powerful weapons of defense, if patriotism and wisdom always reigned in our public life, are being converted into accomplices of the fatality that threatens us.

However, what does it matter whether it be so, if there are those that unconsciously or blindly cry out for foreign interference on our soil; or if there are those—without thinking perhaps of what they are saying—that raise a clamor for the sinking of the republic rather than that their political adversaries should be victorious. The former, carried away by the vertigo of their passions, and the latter, intoxicated by the dance of their millions or anxious to preserve an ephemeral wealth, which they suppose with studied calculation would be better guaranteed under the wing of a preponderating military power, will not see the danger that is involved in the progressive interference of the great friendly nation—the United States—in affairs that pertain to national sovereignty. The fatality of history may perhaps bring Cuba some day face to face with the frightful dilemma of servitude or death. This would be a catastrophe that we ought to try to prevent, but for which we should not be to blame; but let us not ourselves surrender, gradually and stupidly, little by little, the attributes of that sovereignty. Let me say it clearly and without lingering of deceit—because it seems that we are ill of avarice and falsehood—this is the work of the shameful annexation that, unfortunately, exists in Cuba, and this road leads straight toward submission and abjectness.

Enrique José Varona, whom I am pleased to quote as one of our most precious moral reserves, has described the picture with a master hand in his celebrated address entitled *El poeta anónimo de Polonia:*

The tyranny of a man, although he be called Cæsar, although he be called Napoleon, is fleeting; domestic tyranny, that which one fraction of the community exercises over another, is subject to inevitable changes; the hope of entering into power, although uncertain, makes it bearable; the extreme of tyranny is that of one people over another; it is visible and invisible, it surrounds us everywhere and we can not seize it; the center of its enormous pressure is everywhere and it is nowhere, it is not incarnated in a man; for men come and go and they die, and it remains; the functionary that represents it is a mere symbol: proconsul, viceroy, governor; what matters the title? What characterizes it is that its motive, its strength, its object, are all alien to the oppressed people, which is reduced to being a mere instrument of foreign greatness and power.

I am well aware that there are a few who, either skeptics or cowards and nostalgic for the colonial fetters, desire to have done with the mistakes of our free, republican life by substituting for them the tyranny of a foreign power. I am well aware that often the imprecative apostrophe of the one that clamors for the hastening of the catastrophe is like the blasphemy of the one that thinks his God is not going to take it into account. The truth is, however, that, however small the number of those that think or act thus, they exert a baleful and hurtful influence on the public mind.

It will be the lot of you that are intrusted with the training of new citizens to provoke a reaction by making use of the formative influence of education upon the social environment. The teacher's highest mission is that of developing a sense of patriotism; and in Cuba it is urgent to stick to this task every day. You must inculcate in the minds of the generations that are confided to your care the full consciousness and the complete meaning of the far-seeing thought of Saco, our great seer: "I would have Cuba remain always Cuban."

You will doubtless find the soil already fertilized for your work. Whenever the deafening clamor of political strife, in which men, but not ideals, are discussed, fills my mind with apprehension—always preoccupied as I am over the harbingers of the future—I turn my gaze downward. On the surface of the sea, as we contemplate it from the shore, some day when it is in commotion, we see patches of rubbish floating on the crest of the waves; but if we descended to the depths, we should behold the clean, still water reposing on a bed of sand, shells, sea-weed, and at times of pearls and coral. Something similar to this takes place in political life: above may often be found the yeast, that which weighs least, that which, having no strength of its own, avails itself of the fury of storm to rise upward; below, as in a sacred urn, are preserved in silence the traditional virtues, the patriotic romanticisms, the quiet unselfishness, which at times we believe to be buried in the tomb of the heroes and evangelists of freedom, and which, nevertheless, are here in the hearts of the people, the good, plain people, who have not been reached by the corruption that is generated above and that only awaits a voice that shall stir it to action.

Our own popular song-book, so ingenuous and so tender, is the best evidence of it. Has it ever occurred to you to go on horseback through some mountain recess, and listen to a lusty voice that rises from the neighboring plantation, singing with sturdy melancholy:

Martí should never have died.

So, the generations that are being formed, although they have in plain view the sad picture of the present subversion of moral values in our public life, possess, on the other hand, in the home, as a counterpoise, the influence of those traditional virtues that are cherished in the maternal bosom and are transmitted with the cradle-song. The Cuban child, whose psychological characteristics you must study, has traits of nobility and goodness, as well as of energy, that must be skilfully stimulated; he is usually malicious, because in his social environment no great effort is made to conceal from him inevitable truths, but also because his instinct for observation is quite keen; and he only needs to have his intuition guided to the highest spheres of reasoning, instead of choking and atrophying that instinct by cramming his memory with empirical notions that are not the result of his own conclusions.

In this way you can fashion useful men, you can build up character, you can create citizens, perhaps you can produce heroes and evangelists; you can, in fine, lay the foundations of the new patria. Yours will be the work and yours the glory. I do not hold out to you immortality, at least the immortality that is expressed in odes and statues. You will have the anonymous immortality of those that discharge the most important of all social functions, that is, coöperation. Some day, when the Cuban patria shall have attained to a higher level of civilization, when human life shall have taken on the direction of a broader civism, when the collective welfare and economic potency shall have centupled—thanks to her own effort, her effort from within, that which springs from her own soil

—there may be those that will forget that, without the continuous and persistent labors of the teacher, the people can accomplish nothing solid and enduring. What does it signify, however? Immortality, in so far as you are concerned, consists in making your work imperishable. Your names will perhaps disappear; your work will subsist and you will live—confused with the mass and unknown—like the impalpable but eternal atoms of the radiant splendors of the sun that is to illuminate the patria of the future.

Go forth then to make a country. If the injustices of the world shall sometimes cause you to quiver with anguish, remember your professors, us, who have contributed to the development of your intelligence and to the formation of your characters, and who desire to continue from afar to be your mayor stay. Always think of the Escuela Normal as a prolongation of your family: here you have found the warmth of home. Such has been the desire of all of us that have deposited in you so many idealities and so many hopes.

As for myself, I can say—and excuse me for concluding with a personal allusion—that I have placed in your hands, and in those of the future schoolmasters and schoolmistresses that have already begun to be trained here and that are to follow in your footsteps during the years to come, all my treasures of enthusiasm and faith. I have sought to infuse into you my optimism; I have tried to impart to you my idealism; I have aspired, above everything, to intensify in you the sense of nationality, without which there can be neither public conscience nor citizens. You are well aware that I was not born in Cuba, but the Cuban ideal is mingled with the sweetest memories of my childhood, since it was bound up with the home of my ancestors, and from my tender years I recited the verses of Martí and learned to love Cuba as a prolongation of my native land. This is the reason why—although I have not forgotten for a single moment my obligations to the land of my birth—I have been able to think in Cuban, and I have a better right to the title of Cuban than some that by chance or mistake first saw the light of day upon this soil. Do we perhaps forget, however, the voice of Martí, which told us that they are one and the same thing? After all, granted the reciprocal ties of nationalism of the peoples that from the "greater patria" proclaimed by Rodó, is not thinking in Cuban the same as thinking in Antillian? as thinking in Hispano-American?

I take leave of you with the serene conscience of one that has fulfilled his duty. I shall find satisfaction and honor in recalling at all times the coöperation I have been able to lend to the work that is incarnate in you, the present and future normal school-teachers.

Perhaps to-morrow I shall have to leave you. Enterprises still more arduous claim my mind and strength. It is my hour. Remember always that wheresoever destiny may carry me, I bear the Cuban ideal in my heart; that whatever the cause I may defend, it will always be the cause of Cuba; and that I aspire to no greater glory than that of standing side by side with you as a coöperator in the enterprises of national aggrandizement.

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF GREATER COLOMBIA

BY

GABRIEL PORRAS TROCONIS

A sketch of the causes that led to the breaking up of the historic Gran Colombia, founded by Bolívar —composed of Nueva Granada, Venezuela and Quito—which will interest students of history. The author, after pointing out the different elements of discord, concludes that the dismemberment was inevitable from the very beginning, but he also holds that the peoples of the modern Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador cherished, even after the dissolution, a sentimental regard for Colombia the great, the brilliant, creation of the Liberator, and that they "continued to invoke the name Colombia as an ideal bond that they did not dare to break, because in it could be discerned an immemorial past; and it was as if their aspirations for the future were directed toward the now chimerical ideal of the recovery of a lost power and force."—THE EDITOR.

WHAT were the forces that drove against the superb edifice raised by the hand of the Athlete until it was hurled into the dark abyss of dismemberment and annihilation? They were many and very varied in nature and character; but, in spite of their diversity, they may be reduced to a single and principal cause: Nueva Granada, Venezuela and Quito had come, in the course of their colonial existence, to constitute three great, distinct centers of population, with well marked, differentiating characteristics, each of them with an individual, and at times even a different and original, social structure. The necessity of uniting their efforts for the common defense during the war of independence and the centralizing genius of Bolívar brought together in a single whole the wills of the three groups, in the effort to overthrow Spanish rule in Hispanic America. When, however, the common danger had disappeared, the individualistic and particularistic spirit prevailed over regard for and love of the unity of the glories won, and the disassimilation of the component elements followed as a natural and even logical phenomenon. We shall try to demonstrate this thesis, while glancing hastily, but with a discerning eye, over the pages of the common history.

From the first steps of the conquest began to be outlined the differentiation that manifested itself in time between the character and customs of the peoples of the captaincy-general of Venezuela, the vice-royalty of Nueva Granada and the presidency of Quito. The first of these regions did not become the resort of great captains such as Jiménez de Quesada, Belalcázar, Heredia or Balboa, rivals of the Pizarros and Cortés in respect of the extension of their conquests, the magnitude of their deeds or the strength of the empires it fell to their lot to subjugate; but it did attract a multitude of captains, although of lesser name and fame, with less success in their fortunes and at times with greater unhappiness in their last days, with a manly daring that bordered on madness and an individualism so characteristic that it might be said that every conqueror of these lands bore within himself his army, the laws of his state and the empire of which he dreamed. "Fighting without truce; the constant sight of danger and death; the tenacious hope of discovering El Dorado, which vanished every evening beyond a horizon of unknown solitudes; vigils in unwholesome camps; the absence of women of their own race, who would have sweetened the temper of those souls wherein dwelt, side by side with heroic valor, avarice and scorn, anger and vengeance—with almost no distractions save ephemeral and sensual amours with native Indian women, or the picaresque stories related on nights of repose by some soldier poet"—constituted the life of the conquerors of Venezuela, according to the felicitous description of a great contemporary historian.[1]

[1] José Gil Fortoul; *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, book II, chapter I.

In Nueva Granada, under the protecting ægis of the illustrious and powerful captains whose names already ennoble this article, sprang up cities and then more cities, governed very soon by written laws and legitimately constituted authorities, which afforded stimulus to the tranquil enjoyment of a civic and peaceful life that was chivalresque, as the spirit of the period demanded; learned and cultured, according to the time granted by good government for the improvement of minds; abounding in legends of love and hatred, sorrow and joy, virtue and vice, but always stamped with the distinctive characteristics of the Castilian spirit—noble, generous, magnanimous and great, even in crime.

In the presidency of Quito, the conquest was a prolongation in greatness of the effort of the Iberian conquerors of Tierra Firme, and in the regions that were in contact with the absolute power of the Incas, there was very soon established an excessively harsh administration, destructive of the native element, which fostered the birth of a new race, mongrel of skin and soul, with sedentary and tranquil habits, scattered in towns pitched upon the summits of the Andes, and which only the abuse of the peninsular rulers could arouse, three centuries later, from the stupor in which they dwelt, to stimulate them to demand their unrecognized and downtrodden rights.

The organization given to the colonial government, centralized in the three most important capitals of the vast region—Santa Fe, Caracas and Quito—causing to converge upon them alone the gaze and hopes of the inhabitants, contributed in a powerful manner to strengthen the nascent characteristics that distinguished the inhabitants. Nature, by placing between them distressing distances, impassable abysses and mountains that penetrate the clouds; by affording, here plains whereon the vision loses itself as on horizons of the sea, there, profound valleys, pleasant, smiling plateaus or stark peaks; yonder, colossal mountains clad with perpetual snow and a coast opening now toward the east, now toward the north, now toward the west, swept by divers winds: hot, with all the heat of the black continent; or cool, with all the sweetness of the temperate zone or refreshed by the powerful, saline bosom of the great ocean, ended by causing a demarcation that had already been indicated by the caprice of the Spanish monarchs and the hazard of the conquest. Three long centuries of colonial life accustomed those of Venezuela, Nueva Granada and Quito to regard themselves as people of different nationality; but, indeed, never antagonistic in their aspirations. The future republics of Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador already existed in the mysterious bosom of the past.

The revolutionary upheaval caused social and political dissimilarities to be forgotten for a moment, and it unified all America in a common desire for autonomy, first, and, later, independence; and hence we see that the generous attempt of Gual y España in Venezuela corresponded to the audacious apostolate of Nariño in the viceroyalty; the unsuccessful enterprise of Miranda was followed by the unhappy revolution of August in Quito and the brief revolt of Hidalgo at Dolores; the doctrines regarding the concept of sovereignty upheld in 1808 by the privileged genius of Juan Francisco Azcárate y Lezama in the *cabildo* of México coincided with those that were defended the following year by Camilo Torres at Santa Fe; and to the frank attitude of Caracas on July 5 replied Cartagena de Indias in 1811, Santa Fe, on July 16, and the congress of Chilpancingo, on September 13, 1813.

However, this convergence of ideas toward the same political finality did not occasion, in the first days of the struggle for the preparation of the peoples, any effective drawing together, even in the territory that later constituted Greater Colombia, other than the treaty of June, 1811, made between Venezuela and the state of Cundinamarca.

Lack of experience in affairs of government, the puerile ingenuousness of the founders of the "patria boba"[2] and the

[2]Literally, "silly patria:" a popular name applied somewhat vaguely to the first months of the period of Venezuelan independent government under Miranda, which extended from the declaration of independence, April 19, 1810, until the capitulation of Miranda, July 22, 1811. The phrase "patria boba" was applied to the first period both because of the inaptitude of the inexperienced patriotic leaders and because during

first republic of Venezuela, who fancied that the work of emancipation was completed by the enactment of laws and constitutions, without backing up these acts by force of arms and victory on the field of battle, and unbridled individualism, characteristic of the Iberian race, which culminated in an itching for federations, and brought on successive and isolated disasters in Quito, Venezuela and Nueva Granada. Afterward the wave of pacification swept over our cities and towns, drowning the earth in blood and depriving the cause of liberty of the goodliest paladins by death or dispersion. Morillo, after the manner of Tarquinius Superbus, cut down the tallest anemones in the precious garden which, in an evil hour for Spain and the cause of civilization, the inaptitude and pride of an absolutist and oppressive government confided to him.

Yet from the very bosom of that somber cloud flashed the lightning that illuminated the American world with an inextinguishable light: Bolívar, with a head of prodigies and a tongue of marvels, as he has been called by an illustrious writer, after a long and stormy peregrination through distant lands, organized the legions of victory, vitalized the moribund wills of the people, pointed out a single goal for all efforts, and united in a close fagot activities that had been spent thitherto in marching in opposite and even contrary directions, to achieve victory on the fair fields of Boyacá, Carabobo, Bombaná, Pichincha, Junín and distant Ayacucho. As a reward for his services, as a tribute to his longings, as a humble assent to his inflexible will, the congress of Angostura decreed, after the first decisive victory achieved by the hero, the creation of the republic of Colombia, an immense state that was the terror of monarchical and absolutist Europe, the pride of the New World, the hope of the oppressed and the splendid reflection of the glory won by the Liberator. Her vast territory contained an area of a hundred thousand square leagues, rivers that vied with seas in length and breadth, mountains that were lost in the clouds, the suffocating heat of the equator and the bitter cold of the polar regions, plains and mountains, tidal lakes and glaciers, men of crisp hair and dark skin, those of languid glance and bronze complexion, side by side with dolichocephalic blonds, natives of the Cantabrian coasts, and brachycephalic brunettes whose foreheads had been caressed in childhood by the soft breezes of the Mediterranean.

Could that great whole endure, however, when against it wrought nature, the social and ethnic warp, customs and the disintegrating ambitions of the generals of the war of independence? No; the work of a genius who, by the weight of his hand, could rule wills for victory, when it was once achieved and the powerful energy of that prodigy was destroyed by illness and moral disillusionments, absolute disintegration supervened, necessarily, inevitably, fatally; for beneath the imposing pomp of military power and political organization disorganizing principles continued their work of disassimilation, until they made an end of that majestic republic, which had been the admiration of the world and the satisfaction of the liberators.

Venezuela, individualistic, pugnacious and restless, against or with Páez, raised the first cry of dissolution; Nueva Granada, civilian, peaceful and clinging to the constitution as to a saving anchor, beheld without displeasure the sundering of a tie that she had no desire to maintain; and Quito, desiring the autonomy she had not yet enjoyed, followed the white plume of the gallant foreigner, who offered her as a flattering prospect the independence of her dreams.

Let us observe the principal events of the process of segregation:

After December 29, 1821, the municipality of Caracas hastened to declare that, in January following, it would take the oath of allegiance to the constitution put forth by the congress of Cúcuta, in order not to have go abroad "an idea of division among the peoples that had been bound together by unanimity of sentiments, interests and reciprocal esteem; but that this charter should not impose upon the people of that

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it both the patriots and the Spaniards, with the thought, or at least the hope, that reconciliation and adjustment might be effected, treated each other with some degree of consideration; after the first year of struggle, Morillo, the Spanish commander, and Bolívar began the bloody "war to the death," which was at least logical and hence not "boba."—THE EDITOR.

province and the *departamento* of Quito the duty of strict and unalterable obedience, since they had taken no part in its formation, and because some of their provisions were inapplicable to the territory." This act, it may be said, had already announced the separation on the very day that the union was effected. In the years 1823 and 1824 there occurred new collisions between the intendant of the *departamento* of Venezuela and the supreme chief of the three eastern *departamentos*, between the first of these authorities and the municipality of Caracas, whose origin and causes have been attributed by eminent Venezuelan historians to autonomist and separatist tendencies, "which never gave ground in Venezuela, either before the constitution of Cúcuta, the central government of Bogotá or the supreme authority of Bolívar."

Vice-President Santander, an expert and far-seeing politician, told the president of the senate in 1825 "that events at Caracas indicated a profound ill-being that might occasion disastrous consequences and that proved the existence there of a party, which from 1821, discredited the constitution and attempted to separate Venezuela and Nueva Granada, and, in short, to stir up the hatred of the masses of the people against institutions, laws, the congress, the executive and all kinds of authorities."

The tendencies of this party manifested themselves once more in opposition to the decree regarding conspirators, issued by Santander, March 17, 1825, and the enforcement of which was resisted by the municipality of Caracas; and the people of the city continued on several successive occasions to manifest the desire that existed there, of freeing themselves from allegiance to the government of Bogotá.

All these causes impelled Páez, who was then a decided upholder of the union, to address to Bolívar the famous letter of October 1, 1825, which he denied later, and which proposed the formation of an empire presided over by the Liberator. Bolívar replied on March 6 of the following year with those lapidary phrases that reveal his intense love for democracy:

> Neither is Colombia France, nor am I Napoleon. . . . There is nothing of the sort here: I am not a Napoleon, and I do not wish to be one; nor do I desire to imitate Cæsar, much less Itúrbide! Such examples seem to me unworthy of my glory. The title of Liberator is superior to all titles that have been conferred on human pride; therefore it is impossible to augment it.

The lion of Apure,[3] alarmed over the purposes of those he was later to call "turbulent Goths," sought the salvation of Colombia by the constitution of an empire with Bolívar at its head; but the eminently republican spirit of the Liberator, enamoured of other ideals, preferred the dissolution of the work he had achieved with so much love to securing its permanence by setting up in America—that he might occupy it himself—"the four boards covered with scarlet that they call a throne."

A new and greater event occurred at the beginning of the year 1826: Páez, obeying the decree regarding military conscription issued by Santander in 1824, ordered to be billeted forcibly in the city of Caracas, on January 6 of this year, all the men capable of bearing arms, thus occasioning protests and accusations from the municipality and the intendant, addressed to the chamber of representatives and the chief executive of the nation. By another curious political phenomenon suspension from employment caused by these accusations drove Páez into the arms of the separatist factions that had lodged complaints regarding his previous conduct, and on April 30 of the same year, 1826, against what had been voted by the senate and decreed by the executive, the terrible plainsman was again recognized as the military commander of Venezuela.

As when a powerful dike is broken the waters that have been held back for a long time inundate the lowlands and drown them out and cause havoc, so the *pronunciamiento* of Valencia gave loose reins to latent hatred of the central government, and even insignificant towns declared through mandates their intention of seconding the decision of the municipality of Valencia.

To those fatal events corresponded others in the presidency of Quito no less disastrous in their intent, although different in form: the municipalities of Guayaquil and Quito, in successive acts, in the months of July,

[3] Páez.—The Editor.

August and September, 1826, demanded the amendment of the constitution, and of Bolívar that he assume the dictatorship, in order to prevent the evils that beset the republic. This proceeding was no less an attack upon the integrity of Colombia and the majesty of the nation than the subversive movement of Valencia and Caracas.

Bolívar—from Perú, where he still was, engaged in strengthening by the organization of these states the foundation of American liberty, and setting on foot the great Hispanic-American confederation that was to safeguard in the future the nations created by the strength of his arm—heard the moans of his favorite daughter in the throes of death, and, abandoning everything, he hastened to her succor. When he trod the Colombian soil anew, he exclaimed, filled with intense love:

> I bring you a common kiss and two arms to draw you to my bosom: into it will enter, even to the depths of my heart, Granadans and Venezuelans, the just and the unjust: all, of the army of freedom, all, citizens of the great republic.

The magic presence of the hero caused to be sheathed swords that were already beginning to gleam in a threatening attitude, and even the terrible Páez, whose roars infused terror into the heart of the republic, said, as the father and founder of Colombia approached Caracas:

> The most illustrious son of the land of glory, Venezuela, the first hero because of his deeds on the battle-field, again sees with the purest love his old companions in arms, and the places where stand monuments to his glory.

Venezuela became incorporated anew into the republic, but the new union was precarious and transitory. Throughout all the regions of the immense territory of Colombia men were clamoring, asking for constitutional reform; complaints were lodged against public administration; longing was felt for social peace and quiet, threatened by the innumerable bands of robbers that infested the highways; and, in the restless eagerness that sought a change in institutions, some desired the continuance of the republic, others were bent on a monocratico-republican government with Bolívar at its head; and others, finally, demanded that a monarchy be set up, in order firmly to establish the bases of the state, which they believed still insecure. No one knew where was to be found the goal of security, and, in the doubt, vacillation and fear, some turned against Bolívar and his work, and others, against the constitution and its practices, because they deemed it the source of all the evils from which the nation was suffering. The convention that met in Ocaña—which proclaimed, at the opening of its sessions, that "in the temple of the patria altars were not to be erected, but, rather, sepulchers for discord"—ended its tasks by attributing to the fatal goddess the most ignominious worship and by destroying even the most remote hope for the salvation of the republic. The dictatorship of Bolívar, to which the nation had recourse in the throes of terror, and the danger of war to which the threatening attitude of the Peruvian president, Lamar, seemed to be leading, postponed for a moment the hour of dismemberment that was approaching, and caused the laurels of the splendid epopee to flourish again, in the immortal defile of the Portete de Tarqui. When, however, that last gust of the wind of glory had passed, and when the Liberator had returned to the capital with his health undermined by physical diseases and his soul torn by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, the work of dissolution took its course without stay. On November 26, 1829, the municipality of Caracas accused Bolívar of the ills from which Venezuela was suffering and announced her separation from Colombia, acclaiming Páez the head of the new republic. In the very center of moribund Colombia many Granadans declared they could not forget their quality as such, which was equivalent to putting the interests of the lesser patria above those of the greater patria; and a few months later, Quito, Guayaquil and Azuay, a *departamento* of the south, followed the disintegrating example of the regions of the north. On March 31, Juan José Flores convoked a constitutional congress of the new republic of Ecuador to meet in the city of Riobamba.

Bolívar—his mind embittered by the

contemplation of the immediate ruin of his work, and physically and morally beaten—took the bitter road to a voluntary exile; but death, merciful toward Colombia and America, prevented its consummation by stopping for ever the beats of that magnanimous heart, on December 17, 1830, exactly ten full years after the congress of Angostura had decreed the constitution of the greater republic that had just been dismembered. Artifice and its work were extinguished for the world on the same day and at the same hour that announced the apogee of his glory.

Of Colombia the great, of the brilliant creation of the Liberator, there hardly remained the name: the name to which was continued to be paid for some time longer the homage that is offered to the things in which human effort seems to be interpenetrated with the divine will. Nueva Granada, Ecuador and Colombia, when they set themselves up as individual states, continued to invoke the name Colombia as an ideal bond that they did not dare to break, because in it could be discerned an immemorial past; and it was as if their aspirations for the future were directed toward the now chimerical ideal of the recovery of lost power and force.

THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF YELLOW FEVER IN GUAYAQUIL

AFTER yellow fever was extinguished in Panamá, there remained only Guayaquil, on all the American coast of the Pacific, that was subject to the scourge of this epidemic. It is believed, with good reason, that yellow fever was carried to Ecuador from Panamá about the year 1740, a date from which the disease was endemic there until May, 1919, when it was wholly banished.

Guayaquil has a population of a hundred thousand. The supply of water for the city is scarce, and only for two hours each day can it be obtained fresh: the reason why tanks and other receptacles are used in all the houses to hold water. There are seven thousand tanks and fifty thousand receptacles of other kinds that are constantly in use to maintain the water supply, which, thus accumulated, has been the focus for the propagation of the Stegomyia mosquito, the bite of which infects man with yellow fever.

The battle against yellow fever is simply a battle against the mosquito. When the Rockefeller Foundation undertook to combat and to extinguish yellow fever in Ecuador, it intrusted to the famous hygienist Michael E. Connor the task of organizing the campaign against the destructive mosquito. Doctor Connor's work can be described in a word: he extinguished yellow fever in Ecuador; he came, he saw, he conquered.

What this work signifies can only be appreciated by those that know that the yellow-fever mosquito—like the bubonic-fever rat, like all the miasmas, like all the pests—is protected by the spirit of inertia, of indolence, which is inherent in the human race. The conquest of the mosquito, in itself, was not so difficult a task. What was truly difficult was to inculcate new habits in the ignorant quarters of the city; to war against human opposition, Doctor Connor himself being a foreigner and a representative of a people against whom are still felt so many unjustified prejudices. This was a task that required a tact, a *savoir faire*, quite unusual; but Doctor Connor accomplished it, to the everlasting misfortune of the Stegomyia mosquito, the everlasting health of Ecuador and the everlasting glory of the United States.

At present, Doctor Connor is at work in México, where he has gone to banish yellow fever from what he considers to be the original center of infection.—*Fray Mocho*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 10, 1921.

A CENTRAL AMERICAN JOAN OF ARC

BY

RICARDO FERNÁNDEZ GUARDIA

The story of a martial and heroic girl, who might well be given a place with Molly Stark, Barbara Frietchie and other legendary women of the north in the annals of American patriotism, when we outgrow our national trait of mental provinciality and extend our horizon until at least the western hemisphere shall be included within the range of our intellectual vision.—THE EDITOR.

THE señor don Carlos III, of grateful memory, hated the English, who had humiliated him while he was king of Naples; and no sooner had he assumed the crown of Spain, through the death of his brother Fernando VI, than he made ready to avenge the insult, by becoming involved in the meshes of the family compact and by declaring war upon Great Britain, in the hope of reconquering the rock of Gibraltar. Fate was not kind to him, and in 1762 the British squadrons took possession of several of the lesser Antilles, of Habana and even of Manila. The island of Jamaica, which from 1655 had been in the hands of England and was in times of peace a hotbed of pirates and smugglers, served in this and other wars as a base of operations for the English vessels that attacked the Spanish colonies of the Caribbean sea.

England had inherited from the buccaneers and filibusters a vehement desire to take possession of an interoceanic highway through Central America, and, although men as daring as Mansfield and Morgan had failed in this difficult enterprise, it might be supposed that it would not be too great for his Britannic majesty. The governor of Jamaica, William Henry Littleton, who deemed the moment favorable for the accomplishment of the plan, despatched several war vessels and two thousand men against Nicaragua, which, as said a Spanish functionary with prophetic vision in 1790, was "the key to the three kingdoms that were persistently coveted by the English, as they would perhaps be later by the recently separated Americans also." The British forces reached the mouth of the San Juan, and, guided by Indians of La Mosquitia, they began the ascent of the river in no less than fifty sloops and other small craft, with a view to attacking the Castillo de la Purísima Concepción, to-day Castillo Viejo. A hundred years before, General don Fernando Francisco de Escobelo had constructed this castle, locating it on the right bank of the river, upon a rocky hill, above the Raudal de la Santa Cruz, previously called the Raudal del Diablo. It was of very modest proportions, but it was strong enough to defend the passage, what with its thirty-six pieces of artillery, its walls, its four bulwarks and solid embankment, the moat and the stockades that surrounded it on the land side, besides a fortin at the water's edge. In order to prevent surprises, it was defended by an outpost battery on an islet situated a short distance away. Hence there was reason to suppose that in case of attack it would meet a better fate than that of San Carlos de Austria, destroyed in 1670 by the filibuster Gallardillo, who was thus able to surprise and sack the city of Granada; although it is true that this great calamity occurred because the castellan, Gonzalo de Noguera Rebolledo, surrendered to the enemy that fortification, erected with so much toil and care by don Juan Fernández de Salinas, *adelantado*[1] of Costa Rica in 1666.

When the English fleet appeared on the river San Juan, in the month of August, 1762, there was no reason to fear a new treachery like that of the infamous Noguera. The castle was in good hands.

[1]A word without exact equivalent in English: often used in the early days of the Spanish colonies to designate sometimes the military and civil governor of a frontier province and at others the president or chief justice of a certain kingdom, province or district, in time of peace, and the captain-general, in time of war.—THE EDITOR.

Its defense had been intrusted by the king to the captain of artillery, don José de Herrera y Sotomayor, a veteran soldier and one of tried valor, who had rendered excellent service, especially in Cartagena de Indias, during the siege of that place in 1740 by the British admiral Vernon; but the garrison, composed wholly of negroes and mulattos, did not inspire equal confidence.

Don José de Herrera was accompanied in his exile—for not otherwise could that remote castellany be called—by his wife, doña Felipa de Udiarte, and his daughter, doña Rafaela, who was thirteen years of age. The old soldier felt for this child, the only inheritor of his name, a love that reached to his depths. He was grieved to see her condemned to live secluded in the solitary castle, where the days were all equally dull and where the tedium of an existence of exasperating uniformity was not broken by any pleasure. On all sides the virgin forest bounded the horizon, somber and monotonous as the murmurs of the waters of the San Juan. The castellan had employed all the means suggested to him by his affection to distract his daughter; but boat trips and fishing excursions on the river pleased her less and less. She preferred—although she already knew it by heart—the story of the terrible battles that her father had fought against the Englishmen under Vernon, and that of the prowess of her grandfather, the brigadier and director general of engineers, don Juan de Herrera, who for more than sixty years had served the king in Europe and America, fighting gallantly against all kinds of enemies.

Whenever he evoked these and other glories of the Herreras, the captain could not keep from lamenting that God had not given him, instead of that daughter, a son capable of continuing the traditions of the family with his sword at his belt, and to whom he might transmit his knowledge of the art of war; but this regret he smothered in the depths of his heart for fear of wounding his idolized daughter. One night, after the frugal meal, when the conversation reverted, as it had on so many other occasions, to the city of Cartagena de Indias, the captain chanced to relate how he had mounted the artillery on the Cerro de San Lázaro, by order of the viceroy, don Sebastián de Eslava. With a wealth of details and tracing imaginary lines on the table he indicated the plan of the defenses and the emplacements of the cannon. The girl listened to him with the greatest attention; not so doña Felipa, however, who ended by falling asleep in her easy chair of leather. Noting it, don José interrupted his description and said with a certain bitterness:

"I see that I am wearying you."

"Not me, father. I delight in stories of war."

"Dost thou mean it?"

"Yes; and God knows that I wish I were a man in order that I also might serve the king."

"Ah! if only thou wert, how many things I could teach thee!"

"It is not necessary for me to be so in order to learn."

"It is true; but what would be the use of thy learning to manage a cannon?"

"At least to while away the time."

The captain's countenance became overcast with a veil of sadness when he heard the reply that revealed the boredom of the girl.

"My poor little child," he murmured to himself; and then, suddenly arising, he added in a loud voice: "let us go to bed, for it is late."

That night, however, he passed long hours before he succeeded in wooing sleep. He tossed on his couch, seeking a remedy for his Rafaela's weariness, but he could think of none, except the one he himself had suggested, and which he considered foolish. To undertake to give instruction in artillery to a slip of a girl that was still playing with dolls: what nonsense! and he continued to rack his brains in vain. Nevertheless, on the following morning, don José de Herrera began to instruct his daughter in the manipulation of cannon, convinced that she would soon tire of this new pastime also; but it was not so, and the child showed such application that at the end of a few months she could compete with the best artillerymen of the castle. The soldiers of the castle did not weary of admiring her dexterity and her accurate

marksmanship. The captain enjoyed seeing her bustle about, smiling and happy; only doña Felipa was wont to protest against an exercise so inappropriate for a well born woman, but she did so weakly, fearing that her daughter's sadness, now entirely vanished, might reappear. Besides, another reason occurred to the good señora for being tolerant. She tried in every way to avoid crossing her husband, whose ill health was for her an object of constant anxiety. For some time the captain's strength had been visibly declining, and in his emaciated face could be discerned the progress of the disease that was sapping it. One morning he was not able to rise at the sound of the reveille, as was his custom. The remedies that were offered him were useless, and after forty-eight hours he expired, consumed with fever. The two women, after piously shrouding the body of the man that had loved them so much, knelt about the mortuary couch to give free expression to their immense sorrow. In the castle reigned a majestic silence. All deplored the death of the good commander, and still more the orphanhood of doña Rafaela.

Into the bedroom suddenly hastened the sergeant under whose command the castle had been left for want of a commissioned officer. His aspect revealed great consternation.

"Señora," he said in an excited voice, addressing doña Felipa, "a soldier has just arrived from the lookout with the news that the English are coming up the river in boats."

Doña Felipa continued to look at the sergeant with eyes of terror, without uttering a word. The girl sprang up with a bound:

"We must strengthen the lookout immediately!" she exclaimed.

"I have already ordered the boats to be made ready and I am going to despatch them," replied the sergeant, withdrawing rapidly.

A few minutes afterward came the sound of distant cannon fire and discharges of musketry. The sergeant returned, almost breathless, to say that the lookout had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that a boat could be seen approaching with a white flag.

"They are sending us the bearer of a white flag to demand surrender," replied doña Rafaela. As she said this, she dropped upon the inert body of her father, bursting into great sobs. Doña Felipa wrung her hands, imploring the aid of all the celestial court. After the passing of some moments of supreme anguish, the girl straightened up. She was transfigured. The natural softness of her face had disappeared, and in her large gray eyes shone the piercing and resolute glance that flashed from those of the captain when he was alive. Her voice became sharp, imperative:

"I shall speak with the Englishman. Go to your post and make ready for defense."

The sergeant unhesitatingly obeyed. Suddenly, and to the surprise of doña Felipa, who watched her in silnece, Rafaela removed the traces of her grief, retouched her hair and put on her best clothes. Shortly afterward the sergeant returned to inform her that an English officer sought speech with the commander. Doña Rafaela went forth with a firm step, and from the wall she interpellated the messenger, who was on the other side of the moat in front of the drawbridge:

"What brings you here?"

"I desire to hold parley with the commander," replied the officer in good Spanish.

"It is impossible at present, but I can serve in his stead."

"With whom have I the honor to speak?"

"With doña Rafaela de Herrera. I am the castellan's daughter."

The Englishman bared his head courteously.

"Señorita, I beg of you to tell your father that I come to demand the keys of the castle, in the name of his Britannic majesty."

"Are you unaware, perhaps, that the castles of his Catholic majesty are taken only by force of arms?"

"This is wont to be the rule when there are those to defend them."

"And who has told you that the Castillo de la Purísima Concepción is defenseless?"

"The prisoners that we have taken in the lookout."

"They have lied to you."

The officer smiled maliciously, saying: "They have also told us that don José de Herrera is gravely ill."

"And if it were true?"

"We know that there is no other commissioned officer in the castle."

"None is necessary."

"We are two thousand strong."

"I thought there might be more of you, since you dare to suggest surrender."

"Resistance will be useless."

"It remains to be seen."

"Is this your last word?"

"The last."

"We shall soon be here."

"You will be well received."

The Englishman saluted, while at the same time murmuring between his teeth: "Always the incorrigible Spanish haughtiness;" but in his own mind he praised the courage of the girl through whose mouth had spoken several generations of doughty warriors.

Doña Rafaela, assuming from that moment the command of the castle, ordered her father's body to be buried with the honors prescribed by the regulations. As the ceremony was concluding, the hostile craft appeared. With insolent daring, the Englishmen leaped ashore, setting up their tents within cannon range; and, certain, as they were, that the fort would capitulate before their threats, they began a series of skirmishes that were in truth sufficient to awe the garrison, demoralized, as it was, by the death of its leader. Seeing that the negroes and mulattos were making a move to surrender, doña Rafaela felt the noble blood that ran in her veins boil with impetuous force, and she rebuked them, painting their conduct in glaring colors. Had they forgotten, perhaps, the oath that they swore to the king, to die in defense of the castle? What of the duties imposed on them by military honor? Were they going to permit such an affront to be offered to Spanish arms? Were they going to surrender basely the fortress, the stronghold of the province of Nicaragua and of their families, as well as the wife and the daughter of their commander? Oh, if don José de Herrera could arise, how quickly would he force the Englishmen to reëmbark, as in Cartagena de Indias! The soldiers, respectful and crestfallen, listened to the girl's ardent words; but on the faces of all was painted the most profound discouragement. Then doña Rafaela, with a sublime impetuosity, ascended alone the tower of San Fernando, charged a cannon and opened fire on the camp of the enemy. She did so with such good fortune that at the third discharge she succeeded in planting a ball in the commander's tent, killing him.

Infuriated by the death of their leader, the English began a fierce attack upon the castle; but now the garrison, filled with enthusiasm by the girl's heroism, offered them an energetic and courageous resistance, causing them heavy losses in men and boats. Under cover of the darkness of the night, they renewed the attack from the river. Doña Rafaela frustrated it by a very ingenious contrivance. She had sheets soaked in rum and thrown lighted into the water upon branches of trees to illuminate the field of action. The English, surprised to see those floating torches, imagined that they had encountered the ancient Greek fire, and they suspended the attack. The battle lasted five days, until finally, discouraged, the English abandoned the camp, returning to their ships and to Jamaica.

The defeat of the British caused immense rejoicing in Nicaragua, especially in Granada; and when the heroic girl, with her mother, reached the city, where they took up their residence, she was received in triumph and covered with praises and blessings for having saved them. Some years later, she gave her brave and beautiful hand to a Granadan gentleman named don Pablo de Mora; but Providence did not vouchsafe her the happiness that her heroism and her virtue merited. A widow and the mother of five children, of whom two were lame, doña Rafaela was living plunged in great poverty, when, in 1780, the captain-general of Guatemala, don Matías de Gálvez, was in Granada. The hapless heroine appealed to him, entreating him to inform himself regarding the glorious event in order that he might give an account of it to the king and incline his Catholic majesty to succor a Spaniard,

the daughter of such honored parents and ancestors. Don Matías de Gálvez hastened to write on the subject to his brother, the minister of the Indies, and on November 11, 1781, don Carlos III rewarded doña Rafaela de Herrera y Udiarte with a modest life pension, for having rendered "such signal service . . . by forcing the enemy, in spite of his superior forces, to raise the siege and take to a shameful flight." These are the exact words of the royal grant.

When the king of Spain bestowed the miserable and tardy recompense upon the woman accorded the greatest honors, the English had already avenged the affront that doña Rafaela had inflicted upon them. An expedition commanded by Colonel Polson, and of which Horatio Nelson, the future conqueror at Trafalgar, formed a part, set out from Jamaica and attacked the Castillo de la Purísima Concepción in April of 1780, obliging it to capitulate on the second of May following, for lack of water, and after twenty days of siege and bitter fighting. The commander, don Juan de Ayssa, defended it with marked courage, but he was less fortunate than the heroic maiden.

In 1857, one of the descendants of doña Rafaela, General Tomás Martínez, was summoned to occupy the presidential chair of Nicaragua, and on this occasion the government newspaper recalled this deed the memory of which ought to be perpetuated in bronze. There have not been wanting those that placed it in doubt, among others a notable North American writer, an apologist for the filibuster William Walker; but written and reliable testimony that is preserved proclaims doña Rafaela as one of the greatest heroines of all times.

THE NEED OF A NEW CONCEPTION OF LAW

BY

ALEJANDRO ÁLVAREZ[1]

Few American writers are so well qualified, by reason of their investigations, study, varied experience and association with international movements and organizations, to discern and to estimate the trend of social, economic and legal developments in the near future, as the author of this article. After a concise but comprehensive sketch of the old conceptions of law, he points out what he conceives will be the inevitable tendencies of the present and future, holding that "the object of law at the present time is to effect human solidarity;" and that "the extent of its rules is greater or less according to the environment in which it is developed. Its tendency toward solidarity is universal, for everywhere are occurring phenomena that cause law to take this new direction; but in many other realms it differs according to the qualities of nations, racial genius, et cetera. . . ." "With this new orientation of a positive and practical philosophy of law may disappear the causes of anarchy and discredit that hitherto have affected it. It will thus be in a position duly to perform its functions: of educating public opinion and imparting to it a greater consciousness of its aspirations; of guiding legislators in the reforms they ought to accomplish, and judges in the interpretation and development of positive legislation."—THE EDITOR.

WE ARE passing through one of the most important and critical periods recorded by the history of humanity. We are witnessing not only a notable modification in the map of Europe, but also a change of regimen in social life and a transformation in thought, doctrines and sentiments.

From these points of view we may compare the events of the present with those of the French revolution. After 1789 people proceeded in almost all countries to reconstruct social life on the basis of the *individualism* proclaimed by the philosophers of the eighteenth century and established by the great revolution as a protest against the régime that existed at the time. Individualism is the exaltation of human personality, which is conceived to be endowed with fundamental rights inherent to it, the mission of the state being that of assuring the protection of these rights, while concerning itself little or not at all with the general good. As the peoples were not prepared for so sudden a change, there was a long period of anarchy.

The regimen that is to follow the recent war is one of coöperation, which grew up slowly during the course of the past century: it is therefore recognized and accepted, wanting nothing but the act of definitive consecration. In other words, the régime that followed 1789 was established suddenly, by revolution; the new régime, in spite of the events that have occurred in Russia and other countries of eastern Europe, will be the result of evolution, if the governments are able to foresee events and prevent the advanced elements from carrying the reforms farther than necessity demands.

A curious phenomenon, of an intellectual character, occurred in the course of the last century, which it would be well to point out, because it is of capital importance in the orientation of the political sciences and, above all, in the future conception of law.

In the eighteenth century two great philosophical currents dominated: French *social* and *political* philosophy, represented by Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire, and German *moral* and *juridical* philosophy, headed by Kant and Fichte. The French philosophers worked out the fundamental bases upon which the contemporary state was constructed. They proclaimed, indeed, at the same time as *individualism*, respect for private property, national sovereignty, the division of authority and the constitutional regimen; they exalted the rights of the individual, but they left their duties hazy. The

[1]An address delivered on the occasion of his admission as an honorary member of the faculty of law of the Universidad de Chile.

German thinkers, it was, that concerned themselves with establishing one philosophy or doctrine of morality and another of law. It was Kant that exercised the most profound influence, in this respect, throughout the world. He was the first to give to morality a basis other than the Christian religion; the chief characteristic of his philosophy was that of relating policy with law, and law with morality. The French philosophy and the German philosophy of the eighteenth century, far from being opposed to each other, complemented each other, both being founded on speculations upon human nature.

Divers circumstances, particularly national interests, genius of race, geographical situation, social and juridical tradition, systems of legislation, et cetera, caused, in the course of the eighteenth century, philosophical, juridical, political and international conceptions, as well as other manifestations of culture (economic sciences, education, liberal arts, et cetera)—although uniform in their fundamental points—to have a special physiognomy in three great groups of nations, thus giving birth to a number of *schools*: France and the other Latin countries of Europe and America; England and the United States; Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Saxon and Slavic countries.

On the other hand, the continuous transition, during the course of the eighteenth century, from the individualistic regimen to that of solidarity or coöperation, produced on the political and social sciences an eclecticism and an anarchy that were aggravated by the diversity of methods of study or investigation employed. These methods were: the deductive, metaphysical, aprioristic, inductive or by observation, called also historical and comparative; the physiological, the psychological, the sociological and the teleological.

Many thinkers, especially Fouillée and Renouvier, attempted to put an end to this anarchy by means of philosophical doctrines on an eclectic basis, without obtaining any result.[2] In France, in Italy, in Germany and also in the United States[3] there had been a great movement designed to end the crisis, particularly in respect of the philosophy of law.[4] The present time will be propitious for accomplishing this object, thus preparing the way for new conceptions in harmony with the regimen that may be established.

In order to know, at least in its fundamental points, what this new conception may be in respect of law, it is easy to trace in outline the idea that has been held regarding it in different countries during the nineteenth century, and at the same time to indicate the importance of the elements that are to give a new direction to juridical and social life.

The notion of law has been changing constantly, thus passing through different stages or phases: being metaphysical in antiquity; theological in the middle ages; rationalistic or in accord with natural law, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century the conception of law varied according to the method employed in the study of it: according to the historical school it is the product of history; according to the sociological school, it is the product of society; according to the materialists law had no ideal; and the neo-idealists, on the contrary, conceived of it as natural law, but on a positive and evolutive basis. Besides, and because of the circumstances already indicated, the concept of law has been different in three groups of countries:

1. The Latins, at whose head stands France, have been subjected to the influence of Roman, canonical and natural law and of moral philosophy (ethics); the latter two being in turn influenced by theology.

2. The Germanic peoples were influenced by Roman and natural law and by moral philosophy, the latter two being

[2] On these eclectic systems see Fouillée: *La science sociale contemporaine*, pages 379 and following; Henri Michel: *L'idée de l'état*, Paris, 1896, book V, chapter III.

[3] In the United States, this movement is directed by a committee of the Association of American Law Schools, of which the eminent jurisconsult Mr. John A. Wigmore is the chairman.

[4] The most important of these works have been translated into English and published in *The Modern Legal Philosophy Series* (13 volumes), a work edited by a committee of the professors of the law schools of the United States, and in *The Continental Legal History Series* (volume XI), published by the same association.

understood according to German philosophy.

3. The Anglo-Saxons received almost no influence from either canonical law or theology, and only a very weak influence from Roman and natural law;[5] but they were influenced by their juridical traditions, English moral philosophy and the utilitarian school.

In the conception of law, there is a profound difference between the Anglo-Saxon group, on the one hand, and the Latin and Germanic groups, on the other. The Latin and Germanic groups—which we term continental for greater clarity—admits the existence of a law apart from positive law, that is, that there are juridical relations, although they be not prescribed by legislation. These relations were derived formerly from human nature (natural law); and to-day, from conscience or public opinion; they have a moral character only; but, under the name of *principles of justice*, they serve to interpret legal precepts and to fill the voids that exist in their provisions.

The Anglo-Saxons conceive of law in the positive sense only, as an emanation of the higher authority of the state and one that ought to be applied by courts of justice. Abstract law is not considered true law. The notion of justice exists, without doubt, and it springs from public opinion, played an important part in the primitive development of *equity* and was taken into account by tribunals in the development of juridical rules.[6] This materialistic idea of law that has prevailed among Anglo-Saxons was upheld by Blackstone, Bentham, Austin and the majority of the contemporary jurisconsults.

The difference in the conception of law between the two groups of peoples to which we have referred is manifested even in juridical terminology. The continental group has two terms with which to express juridical relations: *jus, droit, derecho, diritto, Recht,* to signify justice or law in the abstract; and *lex, loi, ley, legge, Gesetz,* to indicate positive law, established by sovereign authority, compliance with which may be exacted by courts of justice. The words *jus, droit,* et cetera, are applied also to the whole body of the positive system of legislation: so we say "civil law," "penal law," et cetera. The Anglo-Saxons, on their part, have no adequate terms to indicate these two aspects of law: they have merely the word "law,"[8] which is applied both to law as a whole and to positive legislation. The lack or absence of a term to express abstract law clearly demonstrates the slight importance attached to it by the Anglo-Saxon group.[9]

On the other hand, the body of positive law is viewed in a different manner by the Anglo-Saxon group from what it is by the continental group. The continental group deems it a systematic whole, and it studies it as such: from this body the jurists deduce the general principles that govern concrete cases. These general principles serve to interpret the law and to develop it by applying it to cases not provided for

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[5] In respect of the influence of natural law, see Sir Frederick Pollock: "The Law of Nature," in *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, volume II, pages 204-213; *ibidem*, volume III, pages 413-433. Compare also A. S. Thayer: "Natural Law," in *Law Quarterly Review*, volume XXI, page 60; J. W. Salmond: "Law of Nature," in *Law Quarterly Review*, volume XI, page 121. For the influence of natural law in American jurisprudence, see J. E. Keeler: "Survival of Natural Rights in Judicial Decisions," in *Yale Law Journal*, volume V, page 14; C. G. Haines: "Law of Nature in State and Federal Judicial Decisions," in *Yale Law Journal*, volume XXV, pages 617-657.

[6] It is interesting to note that, in spite of the slight influence that Roman law has had on Anglo-Saxon legislation, there was developed in it, on grounds similar to those of ancient Rome, an institution, also similar, to supply the deficiencies and correct the defects of civil law: it was the *equitas* of the chancellor, which gave origin to the legal system of the *equitas*, different from *common law*[7] and very similar to the legal system of pretorian law, because it was founded originally on natural justice. At the present time, however, this difference between *common law* and the *equitas* is almost lacking in importance.—See Salmond: *Jurisprudence*, fourth edition, 1913, pages 34-39.

[7] English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

[8] English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

[9] To designate abstract law, the Anglo-Saxons employ the Latin word *jus* and also the term *equitas*, but the latter has the disadvantage of meaning, besides natural justice, the body of the rules of civil law recognized by the courts of chancery (which at the beginning applied to natural justice), and it is rather in this sense that the term *equitas* is employed to-day. On the comtrary, there are two terms to designate positive law: *law*[8] and *right*.[8] The latter is employed to indicate one of the manifestations of positive law, for example, *personal rights*,[8] *legal rights*,[8] et cetera. These expressions are not used by the other group, which makes use of the general term "law."

by it, and if it be wanting, recourse is had to the principles of law and natural justice. The interpretation and development of law are always, in the continental group, the work of jurisconsults, who criticize the existing law, as well as the decisions of the courts.

The Anglo-Saxons have a different conception of their legislation, which they consider a mere body of particular rules that have been recognized by the courts of justice; it therefore possesses an essentially particularistic and casuistical character: in it are not sought general principles, which, on the contrary, are despised. This group regards positive law in the same way that the continental group regards penal law: there are concrete laws only, and not general principles applicable to cases not foreseen in it. Anglo-Saxon law is not developed by jurisconsults, but by the courts; the functions of the jurisconsults are limited to following the decisions of the courts and to taking them as existing law, without criticizing them, or by doing so in a very weak manner only.

Another difference between the two groups of legislations is to be found in their mechanism: the legislation of the continental peoples is codified, while that of the Anglo-Saxon group is not. Both systems have advantages and disadvantages, which we have studied in former works.[10]

It might be added, in short, and as a logical consequence of all that has been said before, that in the continental countries law is studied as a part of general culture, while in the Anglo-Saxon countries it is studied mainly from the professional and practical points of view.

The diversity in the conception of law and justice between the two groups to which we have referred has had its natural effect on philosophico-juridical studies. The philosophy of law, indeed, far from being a branch cultivated in all countries, as occurs in the cases of the other political and social sciences, has received attention in the continental group only; the Anglo-Saxons have not concerned themselves with scientific studies of law other than those of an historical character and those that set forth the rules that govern the different branches of positive law, comprehended in the term "jurisprudence."

The continental group looks upon the philosophy of law as a science that embraces the study of law in itself. Its method, until the nineteenth century, was based exclusively on the speculations of reason regarding human nature. As a consequence, this philosophy—like law in itself—has always been ascribed the character of universality and immutability: a philosophy of a variable, evolutive or particularistic character, that is, professed only by certain peoples, would have been deemed an absurdity.

The philosophy of law has been conceived of in Germany in a manner different from what it has been in France. In Germany it has been confused with natural law, as it was understood principally by Kant and Hegel; but certain philosophers had set on foot a reaction in favor of giving to these studies a more positive character. Under the name of "juridical encyclopedia" the Germans now study the general principles that govern all the branches of positive law: the method chiefly employed is the philosophical and historical.[11] Under the head of "general theory of law" they study the fundamental principles that govern private law, especially those of civil law, derived from Roman law, as it was in force in Germany before the codification. These studies fell under the influence of the metaphysical philosophy of Kant and Hegel, and afterward that of the historical school.[12]

[10]Álvarez: *Une nouvelle conception des études juridiques et de la codification du droit civil*, Paris, 1904, première partie, chapters VII and VIII.—Compare Salmond: *Jurisprudence*, fourth edition, 1917, pages 26-27.

[11]One of the best works from this point of view is Gereis's *Introduction to the Science of Law*, published in English in volume I of *The Modern Legal Philosophy Series*, Boston, 1911.

[12]The following work may be mentioned especially: *Sader Institutionen*, the introduction to which contains a general examination of law, according to the historical school. This work was translated into English by Hastie with the title of *Outlines of the Science of Jurisprudence*. The general part of this work on Roman law is devoted to a scientific analysis of the fundamental conceptions of law.

In France the philosophy of law felt for a long time the influence of natural law, with which it is often confused. Because of their empiricism, these studies fell into discredit and they were almost abandoned.

At the end of the nineteenth century occurred a reaction that tended to give them a more positive character. Recently the works of Duguit, Charmont and Demogue have opened to the philosophy of law new horizons.[13] Under the caption, "introduction to the study of law," are studied the same subjects as those that the English call "jurisprudence" and the Germans "encyclopedia."

In Italy, besides the important works of Miraglia, Vanni, Del Vecchio, Carle and others, the philosophy of law has also been cultivated according to anthropological and sociologic almethods. The works published from this point of view are numerous.

From the second half of the nineteenth century several factors gave a new orientation to social life, one that had its influence on juridical relations and even on the very conception of law. It consisted in the gradual replacement of the *individualistic* régime, bequeathed by the French revolution, by that of *solidarity* or interdependence between individuals and between states, which produced a consequent anarchy in the political and social sciences.

Let us see in general outline wherein consists this transition from individualism to solidarity, and what its effect is on the notion of law.

In the course of the last century, the great material and moral progress, and especially the development of democracy and socialism, led the isolated individual to consider himself no longer the prime object of society, and increasing preponderance began to be given to general interests over particular interests. People commenced to see in the attributes of the state, not a power for command, but, rather, the fulfilment of a duty, a social function, for the good of the community. Democracy and socialism have had great power of expansion, because they are no longer derived from *a perori* speculations regarding human nature. like the individualism of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, but from the new conditions of social life.

On the other hand, the great development of industry and commerce, the increase and rapidity of the means of communication, the progress and diffusion of ideas, had gradually induced interdependence between nations; no nation was sufficient unto itself, and each needed the commerce and the culture of the others. Economic life and human activity had become essentially cosmopolitan; coöperation had been established in almost all the realms in which national interests were not in opposition, especially in administrative services, there coming into existence international unions (postal, telegraphic, et cetera). Hundreds of international associations were formed in all the spheres of human activity, and conferences, with the most varied objects (humanitarian, ethical, scientific, industrial, et cetera, and, above all, for the regulation of juridical affairs), were being held continuously. The most notable of these conferences were the ones called peace conferences, held at the Hague, in 1899 and 1907, which inaugurated a new epoch, since they proposed to extend the dominion of law and justice in international relations. The "declarations" and the "convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes," signed in these assemblies, are a masterly synthesis of the sentiments in favor of peace, justice and fraternity that then animated the peoples; the third "declaration" "recognizes the solidarity that unites the members of the civilized nations."

As a logical consequence of this growing interdependence, many relations of private law had passed to the domain of international law, and there came into being an "international administrative law," an "international commercial law," an "international labor law," et cetera; and the United States had recognized several limitations of the principle of absolute sovereignty for the benefit of general interests.

During the great war, the régime of coöperation took a definitive step: the

[13]The most important of these works have been translated.

belligerent governments, even the most individualistic, such as Great Britain and the United States, recognized from the time they entered the struggle that they could not face the new situation under the regimen under which they existed, and they abandoned it, establishing in its stead interference or control by the state. The governments increased their authority in a manner thitherto unknown, taking under their direction or taking over completely the production and consumption of foods, the means of communication, the industries necessary to the maintenance of the war, et cetera, et cetera; and this increase of authority was effected, not by the abuse of power, but peacefully, with the unanimous consent of the people, who deemed it necessary to the ends in view.

The same thing occurred in the realm of foreign relations: close political and economic coöperation, at the same time as uniformity of ideas in international affairs, was established between all the states that constituted the two belligerent groups. This coöperation was directed by delegates of the respective governments, gathered in groups that functioned periodically; and it was due only to this régime that the war could be carried on for so long a time, without all the countries being overwhelmed in a frightful catastrophe.

The conclusion of the great conflict has demonstrated the impossibility of a return to the individualistic regimen. The nations of eastern Europe, especially Germany and Russia, are passing through a period of the liveliest expectation; and, in respect of the victorious countries, the work in which the peace conference is engaged and the direction given to its labors do not leave room for the least doubt that there exists a desire to secure coöperation in proportions and in a manner that would hitherto have been considered utopian and irrealizable.

This conference has held, indeed, that, at the same time that the conditions of peace are being fixed, it is necessary to lay the foundations of the new national and international life. For this purpose it has appointed committees to study the new economic and industrial conditions, and it has elaborated a plan of a "league of nations," destined to create a true society of the states. Down to the present time, the basis of international life has been the absolute independence of countries, to which everything has been subordinated; in the future this basis must be a solidarity in which will be sought the general good, and to which must be subordinated the particular interests of each state.

Individualism of national and international life being abolished, it is evident that the notion of law and justice, which have been based on it hitherto, will be modified and brought into harmony with the new order that is to be created.

What will this new conception of law and justice be? The same factors or phenomena that tended to eliminate individualism in the course of the nineteenth century furnish us the chief lines of this conception.[14]

It should be said at once that a whole division of civil law, that is, the law of the family, has always been regulated—and it tends to be more so every day—with a view to the interests of the group in general, rather than of the isolated or individual interests of the members of the family. Such are the rights and duties that subsist between parents and children, between husbands and wives, et cetera.

On the other hand, a branch of public law, that is, administrative law, was developed progressively in the course of the last century. This branch of law is, in large measure, merely the limitation of private property for the common good. Examples of it may be seen in the administrative services, expropriations for public utility, public services, those of police, hygiene, et cetera.

The changes of an economic character have had a double effect on civil legislation:

1. They have enlarged the scope of the application of private law, breaking up the body of existing legislation to form a new one based on other principles.

2. They have disturbed the unity of legislation, creating in many realms a special legislation and one of a nature entirely particular, which affects a whole

[14] Álvarez: *Une nouvelle conception des études juridiques et de la codification du droit civil*, Paris, 1904.

category of persons (laborers) and looks to their interests. During the course of the great war the belligerent nations enacted many laws that substantially altered the existing ones: laws that were always designed for the general rather than for the particular good. The body of these laws constitutes a "private law in case of war." There is also, in many realms, by the side of civil law and law applicable in time of peace, a civil and a commercial law for the time of war, of an entirely different character.

The new conception of the state and its attributes, the notion of administrative law, that of the law of the family, the principles on which labor legislation is based, those that have given rise to private law in case of war, and the ideas that were developed in the peace conferences point the way for the new conception of law and its future orientation. This new conception is based on *solidarity*, in virtue of which juridical relations must be adjusted, not to individual interests, but to collective interests. The American Institute of International Law was the first body that sought to carry to a practical realization this new orientation. Indeed, in its first session, held at Washington in January, 1916, it drew up a "declaration of the rights and duties of nations," the principal feature of which is the recognition that notions of social duty, of solidarity and of general interests ought to guide, and, at the same time, to limit the fundamental rights of states.

The different plans, which, in my capacity as secretary general of the institute, I presented to the session held at Habana in January, 1917, with a view to the reconstitution of international law, are likewise based on this new conception of law and social duty.

The teachings of history and of contemporary life show us how false are the starting points adopted hitherto by the philosophy of law in respect of its *origin*, its *object*, its *extent* and its *nature*.

As to its *origin*, it has been believed that law has an existence in itself and that it is founded on human nature; the *object* that is assigned to it is to regulate the relations of coexistence between individuals, that is, to regulate juridical relations with a view to individual interests alone; and it is believed to be of *universal* extent and of *invariable nature*. If some of the more recent works on the philosophy of law show an abandonment of these conceptions in part, especially of the characteristics of universality and immutability, they have continued to uphold the others just indicated.

At the present time, more than at any other, it seems to be clear that law is generated by the environment in which it exists. In this manner is formed a common opinion, a juridical conscience, the result of history, of ideas, of sentiments, of education, as well of the phenomena that manifest themselves in social life. Some of the juridical ideas that are formed pass into positive legislation; others remain merely in the domain of opinion and constitute morality. This juridical conscience is in constant evolution, as are the social acts of which it is the reflection; so that principles that were at the basis of social life for ages, such as slavery, for example, have given way to the contrary principle, that of liberty. This latter notion, in turn, has changed in the course of the nineteenth century: from absolute and unbridled liberty we have passed on to the rational and limited liberty that modern society demands.

The juridical conscience, or rather, public opinion, is therefore the true source both of juridical principles and of morality: it governs to-day all national and international life. In international life, public opinion exercises different functions: it gives rise to juridical rules and also derogates them; it watches over and sanctions their fulfilment; it facilitates their interpretation and development; it places a restraint on the immoral policies of strong nations; it is one of the best guaranties of the enforcement of arbitral decrees; it approves and gives formal recognition to the acts accomplished by force in its name; and, finally, it demands, and gives direction to, reforms in international life.[15]

[15] As to the rôle of public opinion in relation to constitutional law, see Bryce: *The American Commonwealth*, edition of 1914, volume I, pages 387 and following.—The author's reference was to the French translation. We have taken the liberty of changing the reference to the original work.—THE EDITOR.

In private law—owing to the existence of the legislative, executive and judicial powers—public opinion does not play the part it does in international law; but, besides creating juridical principles and those of justice, it demands the establishment or the derogation of positive juridical rules, and it gives direction to the interpretation and development of them.

The *object* of law at the present time is to effect human solidarity; and the *extent* of its rules is greater or less according to the environment in which it is developed. Its tendency toward solidarity is universal, for everywhere are occurring phenomena that cause law to take this new direction; but in many other realms it differs according to the qualities of nations, racial genius, et cetera.

In the future, studies in the "philosophy of law," the "juridical science," the "general theory of law" and other similar studies ought not to be addressed to the study of law itself, in the abstract, but they ought to trace out the main lines of its evolution in the light of history, to investigate the different conceptions of it that have been held, especially in the course of the nineteenth century, while comparing the fundamental institutions of the several groups of countries in which this diversity of conception exists, and, in fine, to look into the different social factors which, from the second half of that century, have had influence everywhere in giving a new direction to law, that is, to law of a social character. This is the point upon which it is necessary to insist in an especial manner in order to prevent the uncertainty and anarchy that have existed because of the transition from the individualistic regimen to that of solidarity.

After a study of the nature indicated, it might be possible little by little to approach unity of fundamental conceptions, or at least to establish clearly in what realms exist irreconcilable divergences, and the causes that have provoked them.

To give this new direction to the philosophy of law, it is necessary to study the development of institutions throughout the ages, as well as the influences that have been exerted on it by the phenomena of the environment; it is necessary, besides, to observe at the present time the effects of the great war on social life. The war has been rich in instruction, for it has subjected existing institutions to a severe test, exhibiting their advantages and defects; it has also revivified human intelligence, causing it to abandon traditional prejudices and ideas and seek new solutions.

With this new orientation of a positive and practical philosophy of law may disappear the causes of anarchy and discredit that hitherto have affected it. It will thus be in a position duly to perform its functions: of educating public opinion and imparting to it a greater consciousness of its aspirations; of guiding legislators in the reforms they ought to accomplish, and judges in the interpretation and development of positive legislation.

THE COVENANT OF THE FEDERATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA[1]

ADOPTED BY GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA AT SAN JOSÉ, COSTA RICA, JANUARY 19, 1921

Whatever the final outcome of the movement for federation in Central America, the world of English speech will surely be interested in the covenant, or preliminary basis of organization, adopted by the representatives of four nations, with a view to submitting it to the respective governments for legislative action and, in case of formal adoption, for the creation of a constituent assembly that should prepare the federal constitution and federal laws.—THE EDITOR.

THE governments of the republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica, holding it to be a high patriotic duty to effect, as far as possible, the reconstruction of the federal republic of Central America upon a foundation of justice and equality that shall guarantee peace, maintain harmony between the states, insure the benefits of liberty and promote general progress and well-being, have seen fit to make a treaty of union with a view to accomplishing this design; and to that end have appointed as plenipotentiary delegates the following:

The government of Guatemala: their excellencies the señores Attorneys don Salvador Falla and don Carlos Salazar;

The government of El Salvador: their excellencies the señores Doctor don Reyes Arrieta Rossi and don Miguel T. Molina;

The government of Honduras: their excellencies the señores Doctors don Alberto Uclés and don Mariano Vásquez;

And the government of Costa Rica: their excellencies the señores Attorneys don Alejandro Alvarado Quirós and don Cleto González Víquez;

Who, after having received their respective full powers, which they found to be in due and regular form, have agreed to the following stipulations:

ARTICLE I

The republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica join in a perpetual and indissolvable union, and they will constitute henceforth one sovereign and independent nation, which shall be called the "Federation of Central America."

The federal power shall have the right and the obligation to maintain the union; and, in accord with the federal constitution, the internal order of the states.

ARTICLE II

The four states shall participate, by means of deputies, in a constituent assembly, and they shall accept at once, as the supreme law, the constitution that the said assembly shall adopt in accord with the stipulations of the present treaty.

ARTICLE III

In so far as it shall not be contrary to the federal constitution, each state shall preserve its autonomy and independence for the management and direction of its internal affairs, as well as all the powers that the federal constitution shall not attribute to the federation.

The constitutions of the states shall continue in force in so far as they shall not oppose the precepts of the federal constitution.

ARTICLE IV

Until the federal government shall have secured, by means of diplomatic procedure, the modification, derogation or replacement of the existing treaties between the states of the federation and foreign nations, each state shall respect, and continue to comply faithfully with, the treaties that obtain between it and any foreign

[1]The text of the covenant has reached us in *Revista de la Universidad* of Tegucigalpa, Honduras; *Centro-América* of Guatemala, Guatemala; and *La Patria* of León, Nicaragua, with slight verbal variations. Our translation was made from the text of *Revista de la Universidad*, with emendations drawn from the other sources.—THE EDITOR.

nation or nations, to the full extent involved in the existing engagements.

ARTICLE V

The national constituent assembly, in formulating the federal constitution, shall respect the following bases:

1. There shall be one federal district administered directly by the federal government. The assembly shall designate and delimit the territory that is to form it, and shall indicate the city or spot within it that is to be the political capital of the federation. The state or states from which shall be taken the territory that is to constitute the federal district shall cede it, immediately and gratuitously, to the federation.

2. The government of the federation shall be republican, popular, representative and responsible. Sovereignty will reside in the nation. The public powers shall be limited by, and they shall be exercised according to, the constitution. There shall be three powers: executive, legislative and judicial.

3. The executive power shall be vested in a federal council, composed of popularly elected delegates. Each state shall elect one proprietary delegate and one alternate, of more than forty years of age and native citizens of the state that shall elect them.

The term of the council shall be four years.

The proprietary delegates and alternates must reside in the federal capital. The alternates shall participate in the deliberations of the council, without a vote; they shall have the right to vote, however, when the respective proprietary delegates do not attend the meeting.

The action of the council shall be valid only when all the states shall be represented in it. Decisions shall be based on the absolute majority of votes, except in those cases in which the constitution shall require a greater majority. In the case of a tie the president shall have a double vote.

The council shall elect from among the proprietary delegates a president and a vice-president, who shall serve for one year. The president of the council may not be reëlected for the year next following.

The president of the council shall be the president of the federation; but he shall always act in the name and by the vote or instruction of the federal council.

The council shall distribute itself in the manner it shall judge to be best for the administration of public affairs; and it may place at the head of the department or departments that it may consider proper any alternate or alternates.

The constitution shall determine the manner in which foreign relations shall be conducted and shall complete the organization of the executive power.

4. The legislative power shall reside in two chambers: the chamber of senators and the chamber of deputies.

The senate shall be composed of three senators for each state, elected by the congress of each state. Senators must be more than forty years of age and citizens of one of the states. Their term of office shall be six years, and they shall be renewed every two years by thirds.

The chamber of deputies shall be composed of representatives popularly elected, in the proportion of one deputy for every hundred thousand or fraction of more than fifty thousand. The constituent assembly shall determine the number of deputies that each state shall elect, until a general census of the federation shall have been taken.

Senators and deputies may be reëlected indefinitely.

The quorum of each chamber shall consist of three-fourths of the total number of its members.

No law shall be valid, if it shall not have been approved, in separate chambers, by the absolute majority of the votes of the deputies, and by two-thirds of the votes of the senators; and, in case it shall not have obtained the sanction of the executive, according as the federal constitution may provide.

5. The judicial power shall be exercised by a supreme court of justice and by the lower tribunals that the law may establish.

The senate, from a list of twenty-one candidates that shall be presented to it by the federal executive, shall elect seven proprietary justices, who shall compose the court, and three alternates to fill the temporary vacancies of the proprietaries. Absolute vacancies of proprietaries or alternates shall be filled by a new election.

Justices shall be irremovable, except by judicial sentence.

The supreme court shall have cognizance of controversies that may arise between two or more states; of conflicts that may occur between the powers of the same state or of the federation regarding the constitutionality of its acts; and of all the other subjects that shall be intrusted to it by the federal constitution or the organic law.

The states that have questions pending between them regarding territorial boundaries or regarding the validity or the carrying out of decisions or decrees dictated before the date of this treaty may submit them to arbitration. The federal court may have cognizance of these questions, in the capacity of arbiter, if the interested states submit them to its decision.

6. The federation guarantees to every inhabitant liberty of thought and of conscience. It may not legislate upon religious subjects. In all the states, the principle of tolerance in religion, when such shall not be contrary to morality or good conduct, shall be obligatory.

7. The federation recognizes the principle of the inviolability of human life for political crimes or crimes connected therewith, and it guarantees the equality of all men before the law, and the protection the state ought to give to the helpless classes and the proletariate.

8. The federation guarantees liberty of teaching.

Primary instruction shall be obligatory, and that which is given in the public schools gratuitous directed and supported by the states.

Colleges for secondary instruction may be founded and maintained by the federation, by the states, by the municipalities and by private individuals.

The federation shall create, as soon as may be possible, a national university; it shall give preference—in respect of their early establishment—to the sections of agriculture, industries, commerce and the mathematical sciences.

9. The federation equally guarantees in all the states respect for individual rights, as well as freedom of suffrage and rotation in office.

10. The army is an institution designed for national defense and the maintenance of peace and public order; it is essentially passive, and it may not deliberate.

Soldiers in active service shall not have the right to vote.

The army shall be exclusively under the orders of the federal council.

The states may not maintain any other force than the police that shall be necessary to assure public order.

The garrisons of a permanent or temporary character that the federation shall maintain in any state shall be commanded by national commanders, of free appointment and removal by the council; but in case a subversive movement shall arise in any state, or it be merely feared that a serious disturbance may arise, these forces shall be placed under the orders of the governor of the state. If this force be not sufficient to put down the rebellion, the governor of the state shall request and the council shall grant the necessary reinforcements.

The law shall establish regulations for the military and garrison service and for military instruction in such a manner that they shall be subject to fixed rules.

The council shall have the free control of the arms and military supplies that exist at present in the states, after the latter shall have been furnished with the quantity necessary for the police forces.

The states recognize the necessity and expediency of the federation's reduction of the arms and military forces to what is indispensable, in order to give back workers to agriculture and the industries, and in order to apply to the common progress the excessive sums that were being spent on this branch.

11. The federal government shall administer the national public exchequer, which shall be different from that of the states. The law shall create federal revenues and taxes.

12. The states shall continue to meet the payments on their present internal and foreign debts. The federal government shall be under obligation to see to it that these payments shall be made faithfully, and that the revenues pledged shall be applied to this end.

In the future, none of the states may

contract for or place foreign loans without the authorization of a law of the state and the ratification of a federal law, nor may it enter into contracts that shall in any way compromise its sovereignty or independence or the integrity of its territory.

13. The federation may not contract for or place foreign loans without the authorization of a law that shall be approved by two-thirds of the votes of the chamber of deputies and three-fourths of the votes of the senate.

14. The constitution may indicate a period after which the ability to read and write shall be an essential prerequisite for the exercise of the right of suffrage for the election of federal authorites.

15. The constitution shall detail the steps by which an amendment may be made to its provisions. Nevertheless, if the amendment shall alter one or more of the bases enumerated in this article, it shall be an essential prerequisite that, in addition to the prerequisites that the constitution shall exact in general, the legislatures of all the states shall give their concurrence.

16. The constitution shall determine and specify the subjects that shall be the exclusive object of federal legislation.

The national constituent assembly, in formulating the constitution, shall complete its plan and principles by developing the bases, without contravening them in any respect.

Immediately after the enactment of the constitution, the assembly shall decree complementary laws on the freedom of the press, protection and state of siege, which shall be deemed a part of the federal constitution.

ARTICLE VI

The national constituent assembly to which article I of the present treaty refers shall be composed of fifteen deputies for each state, who shall be elected by the respective congress.

To be a deputy, one must be more than twenty-five years of age and a citizen of any one of the five states of Central America.

The deputies shall enjoy immunity in their persons and goods, from the moment the result of the election shall be announced by the congress of the state until one month after the close of the sessions of the assembly.

ARTICLE VII

The quorum of the assembly shall consist of three-fifths of the total number of deputies.

Voting shall be by states. In case one or more of the deputies of a state be absent, the deputy or deputies present shall assume the complete representation of the state. If there be a divergence of votes between the deputies of a state, the vote of the majority of its deputies shall be considered the vote of the state, and in case of a tie, the one that is in accord with the majority of the votes of the other states shall be considered the vote; or if there should be a tie among the latter, that which is in harmony with the majority of the individual votes of the deputies.

The decisions of the assembly shall be determined by the majority of the votes of the states.

ARTICLE VIII

For the carrying out of what has been stipulated there shall be instituted at once a provisional federal council, composed of one delegate for each state. This council shall be intrusted with determining all the measures preliminary to the organization of the federation and to its initial government; and especially with convoking the national constituent assembly; with promulgating the constitution, constituent laws and other resolutions that the assembly shall enact; with decreeing what shall be the proper manner of the election by the states of delegates to the council, senators and deputies; and, finally, with giving possession to the federal council, after which its functions shall cease.

ARTICLE IX

The delegates to the provisional council must be more than forty years of age and citizens of the state that shall elect them.

They shall enjoy immunity in their persons and goods, from the time of their election until one month after their terms of office shall have expired. They shall enjoy, besides, in the state in which they exercise their functions, all the rights and

privileges which, by custom or law, are accorded to the heads of diplomatic missions.

ARTICLE X

The congress of each state, immediately after it shall indicate its approval of this treaty, shall elect its respective delegate to represent it in the provisional council, and it shall communicate the result of such election through the proper channel to the Central American international office. This office shall in turn communicate to the governments, as well as to the delegates elect, the fact of having received the ratification of three states, to the effect that, at the time therein expressed, the delegates shall meet to begin their labors.

ARTICLE XI

The provisional federal council shall meet in the city of Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, at the latest, thirty days after the third ratification of the present covenant shall have been deposited in the Central American international office.

ARTICLE XII

The presence of at least three delegates is necessary to render valid the action of the provisional council.

ARTICLE XIII

The provisional council shall elect a chairman and a secretary, both of whom shall sign all the necessary documents. The secretary shall conduct the correspondence.

ARTICLE XIV

When the fourth ratification shall take place, the Central American international office, or the provisional federal council, if it shall be then in session, shall summon the respective delegate to enter the provisional council.

ARTICLE XV

The congress of each state, at the same time that it shall elect its delegate to the provisional council, as provided by article X of this treaty, shall elect the delegates to the constituent assembly to whom the state is entitled.

ARTICLE XVI

When the election of delegates to the constituent assembly shall have taken place, the minister of foreign relations of the respective state shall make it known to the Central American international office, and he shall issue the proper credentials to the delegates elect.

ARTICLE XVII

When the Central American international office shall have communicated to the provisional federal council the election of the deputies effected by at least three states, the provisional federal council shall convoke the national constituent assembly in order that it may be installed in the city of Tegucigalpa, on a date that shall be determined by the decree of convocation, which shall be made known by telegraph to the minister of foreign relations of each state and to each deputy individually, thirty days or more in advance. The provisional council shall see to it that the opening of the constituent assembly shall take place not later than September 15 of the present year of 1921, the centenary of the political emancipation of Central America.

ARTICLE XVIII

The ratification of this treaty by three of the contracting states shall be sufficient to cause it to be considered binding and obligatory among them and to cause them to proceed to its fulfilment.

Any state that shall not approve this covenant may, however, enter the federation at any time when it shall make solicitation, and the federation shall admit it without the necessity of other steps than the presentation of the law approbatory of this treaty and of the federal constitution and constituent laws. In such an event, the federal council and the two legislative chambers shall be increased accordingly.

ARTICLE XIX

The contracting states sincerely deplore that the sister republic of Nicaragua does not at once agree to enter the Federation of Central America. If this republic shall

decide later to enter the union, the federation ought to extend to her the greatest facilities for her entrance, in the treaty that shall be made for this purpose.

At all events, the federation shall continue to consider and treat her as an integral part of the Central American family, as in like manner any state which, for whatsoever reason, shall not ratify the present covenant.

ARTICLE XX

Each state shall pay to the provisional council the sum that the latter may designate, to defray the expenses involved in the discharge of its functions, and it shall fix and shall pay the *per diem* rates of the respective constituent delegates.

ARTICLE XXI

The present treaty is to be submitted in each state, as soon as may be possible, for the legislative approval required by its respective constitution; and the ratification shall be communicated immediately to the Central American international office, to which a copy shall be sent in the usual form. Upon receiving the copy of each ratification, this office shall make known the fact to the other states, and such notification shall be considered, and shall be equivalent to, an exchange.

Executed at San José, Costa Rica, in four copies, the nineteenth day of January, one thousand, nine hundred and twenty-one.

In witness whereto the present treaty is signed by:

For the republic of Guatemala: Salvador Falla, Carlos Salazar

For the republic of Honduras: Alberto Uclés, Mariano Vásquez

For the republic of El Salvador: Reyes Arrieta Rossi, Miguel Tomás Molina

For the republic of Costa Rica: Alejandro Alvarado Quirós, Cleto González Víquez

DON QUIJOTE IN YANKEELAND

BY

JUAN MANUEL POLAR

(*Conclusion*)

In this concluding instalment, don Quijote and Sancho Panza not only have a variety of experiences of minor importance, but they reach the great occasion of the dread combat with the dragon and of the disenchantment of the kingdom of Quivira.—THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER XIX

IN WHICH IS DESCRIBED THE BATTLE THAT DON QUIJOTE FOUGHT WITH A POWERFUL ARMY, AND ACCOUNT GIVEN OF OTHER EVENTS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE COURSE OF THIS VERIDICAL HISTORY

CIDE HAMETE BENENGELI, when he reached this point in the history of don Quijote, gave free rein to his fancy, and it is to be noted that his pen, guided by the natural enthusiasm that the knight-errant imparted to it, traced so rapidly the Arabic signs with which the narrator wrote, that it has been necessary to consult shrewd calligraphers and experts to clear up, if not all, at least what is most substantial and interesting in this part of our story.

Taking up then—and not without effort and long study—the thread of the curious adventure of the disenchantment of the kingdom of Quivira, it came to pass that, shortly after the discharge of cannon that transformed Sancho and drove the divinities of the wood to flight, there appeared among the trees dense masses of soldiers, some with rifles, others dragging cannon and not a few on horseback, all of whom, with great shouts and many orders, instantly surrounded don Quijote and his squire, and let go a new discharge of cannon and small arms, which resounded through the forest with a strange and frightful roar. Sancho, seeing now no way of escape, threw himself flat on the ground and hid himself as best he could, calling on the earth to open and swallow him up.

Hardly had the echo of the firing ceased when there burst out a strain of music so martial and harmonious that don Quijote, who was aready deeply stirred and ready for the combat, when he heard it, was thoroughly carried away by his enthusiasm; his eyes flashed, and he went off his head, and, snatching up Rocinante's reins, he said with lordly arrogance:

"Have at me, in unequal battle, falconets, harquebuses and crossbows!" and, without taking time to commend himself either to God or the devil, he hurled himself upon the foremost soldiers that appeared; but as they evaded him, without our hero's being able to perceive it—so wild was his enthusiasm—he kept on repeating his thrusts in the air, with as much fury as if he were driving them into the breasts of his most hated enemies.

In the meanwhile, the soldiers fired blank cartridges, the detonations deafened the ear, the music continued, and the supposed combatants raised the devil with their cries and mockery; and don Quijote, mad as a March hare, kept on, boldly and undauntedly, vociferating challenges, brandishing his lance and fighting the air, fixed, as he was, in his insanity and wholly convinced that he was clipping off heads and cutting down enemies to the right and left of him.

It seemed that were would never be an end to the famous hoax played by the soldiers, or to the anger of don Quijote, who believed himself to be in the bloodiest of battles, when there sounded a piercing trumpet, and on hearing it, the whole army cried out as in one voice:

"We are beaten! Let us fly, let us fly, for don Quijote is victorious!" and, doing as they had said, they disappeared into the forest, and the gunfire and the tumult ceased as if by enchantment.

Our hero did not perceive the flight of

those he supposed to be his enemies; he continued to pour out insults and to ply his lance; but Sancho, after a short time, encouraged by the silence that had fallen on the scene, raised his head a little, and, becoming aware that there were no longer any soldiers and that his master was fighting alone, he pulled himself together and sat up, wiping his eyes and looking first one way and then the other, and, filled with surprise, he made out to lift his voice and say to don Quijote:

"Doesn't your honor see that you have already beaten all your enemies? Have pity on me now, as I can not get up, for my legs have turned to wool."

Don Quijote heard him, and little by little he came to himself; lifting his lance and, looking about him with the sweeping glance of an arrogant victor, he said:

"Severe and heroic has been the battle, as in the battles of the times of Achilles. Hast ever seen, O audacious squire! a more hard-fought or sanguinary battle?"

"Hard fought it may have been," answered Sancho, seating himself on the ground; "but as for blood, I see not even a trace of it."

"What!" exclaimed don Quijote; "hast thou not seen then how many heads I have cut down; how many breasts I have thrust through; how many cavaliers fell at my feet crying for vengeance; and how many horses were upset by the vigor of my indomitable arm? Against me came a great company of armed people, goodly paladins, arrogant knights of the order of Santiago, haughty Teutons, hidalgos of the Jarretiera, all with their devices and blazons, as doughty and goodly as the Amadises and the Belianises, the Tirantes and Tablantes, they of the Table Round and the Nine of the Fable. Horsemen charged, steeds pawed, armors clashed; smoke and dust in dense clouds blinded the combatants; we were deafened by the uproar and thunder of the falconets and harquebuses; darts flew, aimed by expert bowmen, and, when the struggle was thickest, upon me came the king of France, followed by the princes, commanders and heralds, and with martial mien and never-beheld daring he crossed with mine his sovereign arms; and, after a sharp conflict and much hard attack and being attacked, I succeeded at length in disarming him and remaining master of the field. The hosts fled, the steeds dashed riderless into the forest, and the king of France himself and his court of knights and hidalgos also abandoned the field, proclaiming me victorious."

"Santa María!" exclaimed Sancho; "and how many feats did my señor master perform without my seeing one of them!"

"Thou sawest none then? Wast thou not here, fighting at my side, with servitors and commoners?"

"I, fighting? . . ." said Sancho, much surprised. "Your honor has been dreaming or is on the point of losing your reason (if it is not true that you have lost it absolutely), when you assure me that I was in the fight. I could testify by my ears, and not from what my master tells me, only to the noise, which caused me so much anxiety, not less than to the music, which was accompanied by shouts and even laughter; but as to seeing, I swear to God and to my own soul that I saw nothing of what your honor speaks; for such was my astonishment that I closed my eyes and got as close to the ground as I could, to wait until the squall should pass, which, thanks to God, has happened, and so much so that your honor is sound and well, and I myself feel no pains."

"How great a thing is fear," said don Quijote, "because by it thou wast prevented from contemplating the most astounding battle recorded by history."

"I am very sorry not to have seen all these feats and marvels," said Sancho; "but permit me, your honor, my señor master, to say that I am invaded by certain doubts as to the affair. If your honor dispersed so many troops and conquered so many knights, and disarmed the king himself, where are the spoils? Where are the signs of all this courage and destruction? Who bore off the wounded; what has happened to the dead? May I pass a bad twelve month if these fables do not make it clear that your honor is touched in the head!"

"I can understand thy doubts," said don Quijote, "and I am going to clear them up. Thou must know that everything that pertains to knights-errant, and

very especially to thy master, is always veiled in enchantments and witcheries; so that, just as falsehood and deception disguise themselves as truth, and succeed in convincing the rabble, so the truth, owing to the trappings and appearances with which sorcerers cover it, is changed into falsehood and deception, to that same rabble about which I have just spoken. If it be not so, answer and tell the truth in all that thou sayest or mayest be asked."

"So I shall answer," said Sancho, and don Quojote at once began the interrogatory in the following manner:

"Is it not true that thou heardest the detonation of heavy guns and the noise of falconets and harquebuses?"

"Yes; that is true."

"Is it not true that thou sawest troops and militia in such number and tumult that they filled the woodland and its surroundings for more than a hundred leagues roundabout?"

"Yes; that is true; but not as to the leagues, for I could not see so far."

"Is it not true that these armies attacked us to the sound of unheard-of martial music, and by discharging all their weapons at us?"

"This also is true."

"Furthermore, is it not true that a hot fight was engaged in at this point and hour?"

"Do not go on questioning, your honor," said Sancho, "because at this point and hour, as you say, I no longer paid any attento aught save my own fear, and, if my legs had not failed me, your honor would now have no one of whom to make inquiry, and no one that could answer questions."

"It is not necessary to go on," said don Quijote, "for thy first declaration, as an honest man and one in no wise given to lying, is sufficient and more than sufficient to verify what has happened. If there were noise of arms, and soldiers and companies, and music and attack, and if I have remained on the field, who came off the conqueror in this encounter?"

"I declare myself convinced and I confess," answered Sancho.

"Convicted and confessed, it were better thou shouldst say," replied don Quijote.

"Do me the favor not to pick my vocabillary to pieces," said Sancho, "for what matters is to make one's self understood, and I am neither a bachelor of arts nor a lawyer, to be putting words together. As to the battle your honor describes, I accept it as done and ended, and at the first inn or castle that we chance on I shall describe it in detail, painting it with such deeds and bickerings and sword thrusts that not a little will be the renown your honor will acquire by the event, I myself being satisfied with the leavings."

"It is not well," said at this time don Quijote, who was all aflame, "to sleep on our laurels; and let us be stirring, for great and new adventures await us in the emprise of disenchanting the kingdom of Quivira."

"What! Is not that hateful kingdom—which God confound—disenchanted yet?" asked Sancho. "We have had to do with devils, with filthy divinities given over to lewdness, and, finally, with armies and even with the king of France, and we have vanquished them all, and your honor still desires more adventures and difficulties. No more was lacking! Observe, your honor, that as the pitcher goes to the well until it comes back without a handle, so the devil does by his son until he makes him lame. Let not my master be so stubborn, for, with such deeds as those we have wrought this day, I swear by my soul that not only the kingdom of Quivira, but all the kingdoms of the earth ought to be disenchanted; and what behooves us now is to return and report and give account of all our enterprise, in order to receive the rewards that are to be meted out to misfortunes and sufferings."

"As to the disenchantment of Quivira, we have yet to learn," said don Quijote, "for no sign or circumstance makes it known whether or not we have completed this enterprise, since every disenchantment or return to the natural state, whether of persons or of kingdoms, is at once made manifest in a clear and palpable manner; which does not occur in the case we have in hand. It will be necessary therefore to continue as we have begun, friend Sancho, until we see the end and outcome of this adventure."

Don Quijote, after giving utterance to

the foregoing phrases, took the lead, and at an easy gait the two saddle animals set out, but not without Sancho's again reasoning with his master two or three times, until, wearied with the slight attention paid him—don Quijote being given over, as he was, to his thoughts and adventures—the servant also fell silent. They had advanced but a short distance, after leaving the place of battle, when they saw crossing the road a flock of meek white sheep, led by a pretty shepherdess and two stripling shepherds, who stopped as soon as they saw don Quijote, bidding him a good afternoon with pastoral simplicity. Our hidalgo returned the salutation amiably and complacently, and, fixing his eyes on the shepherdess, he let himself say:

A maiden so beautiful
Ne'er saw I in a countryful
As this cowherdress
Of La Finojosa.

With ingenuous surprise, the shepherdess thanked don Quijote for his gallantry; and Sancho, who was tired and hungry, said:

"Could you tell us, sister shepherdess, whether there be in these parts an inn or hostelry, where we could take a bite and strengthen ourselves?"

"Neither an inn nor a hostelry is to be found hereabout," answered the shepherdess; "but if your honors would not take it amiss, I should be pleased to have you come to rest awhile at my farm-house, which, although poor and humble, will not be without the fresh milk of my cows, the honey of my bees, brown bread and an easy couch."

Don Quijote was enchanted with the words of the shepherdess, and he said:

"Great is the honor you bestow upon us, beautiful shepherdess, and I should accept it more gladly than if it came from a queen—for this affair of being a queen does not depend on a throne or a crown, but on beauty and free-handed gentility—but fatal destiny leads me along another road, and in pursuit of a certain enterprise, which I must continue, contrary to the will and desire that you bear entangled in the fleece of your gentle sheep."

"How is this to be understood?" said Sancho; "and ought my señor master to despise such goodness and courtesy as are offered us? I am not a knight-errant and I never proclaim myself docile or obedient, either with princesses or with shepherdesses, but on this occasion it would seem to me to be discourteous and boorish not to yield at once and accept the kindness with which this shepherdess favors us; and all the more so if it be borne in mind that the day is far spent, that weariness has already set in and that we are not in Lent to be fasting from Maundy Thursday until Saturday."

Whereupon the shepherdess turned to don Quijote and said to him in a sweet and tranquil voice:

"It is true that the day is drawing to a close, and it would pain me that night should overtake you without food and shelter, all the more so, when to-morrow, as soon as God shall send the day, these shepherd boys that you see here will set you again on your way, without the enterprise of which your honor speaks suffering any mishap or delay, unless it be, señor knight, that your greatness would not wish to seek the shelter of my humble farm-house."

"Say no more, shepherdess queen," said don Quijote, "for as soon as I hear the sound of your voice, not only to the farm-house, but to the end of the world, would I follow your steps."

When the modest damsel heard what don Quijote said, she blushed and she thanked the hidalgo; and, the shepherd boys going ahead, and Sancho bringing up the rear, all cheerful and happy, they entered the path that wound among the ancient pines.

Chapter XX

IN WHICH IS GIVEN A NARRATIVE AND DETAILED ACCOUNT OF WHAT DON QUIJOTE DID AND SAID IN A MODEL FARM-HOUSE

WHILE they were going along the path, which wound in and out among the trees of the forest, don Quijote asked the shepherdess what was the latest news regarding the enchanted kingdom of Quivira.

"There is much news," replied the shepherdess, "but your honor is surely

informed about the great battle that took place to-day in this wood through which we are passing."

"I am informed," said don Quijote, "and I should be greatly pleased to learn what comments are being made in the neighborhood regarding the wrongs that gave occasion to the fight."

"The truth is," said the shepherdess, "that, as runs from mouth to mouth, a certain knight, of the kind called errant, who came no one knows how or whence, has entered these kingdoms with the novel idea that the kingdom of Quivira is enchanted and that he is going to undertake to disenchant it; and, passing from words to deeds, this knavish knight—it is not known whether from lack of judgment or because he is a rascal (for he is painted in both ways)—appeared to-day in this forest equipped for battle, accompanied by the good-for-nothing varlet that serves him as a squire; but as soon as the armies of the kingdom appeared, they gave to the adventurers such a beating that neither the witless disenchanter nor the rascal of a servant had any desire to continue the fray."

No sooner had Sancho heard these remarks than he became angry, and he was about to answer the shepherdess when don Quojote raised his voice and spoke on this wise:

"It is thus, friend Sancho, that what is called public opinion twists and warps the great events of history. Neither surprise nor anger ought to be caused thee by what this young woman says, for since she is simple or credulous, she repeats these mistakes and falsehoods invented by knavish scoundrels and rascals in despite of the merits of others. It is characteristic of great men to stand up for the right, without giving heed to what is said or left unsaid regarding them; and it is also natural in the despicable to try to tarnish by imposture the fame of others, which is the humiliation and chastisement of their own vileness."

"Then I declare," said Sancho, "that I do not have the pleasure of possessing any of the qualities your honor has just spoken of, and that, fortunately, neither am I a great man nor do I wish to be one, because, to be mixing in quarrels and strife, in order that afterward any ragamuffin may exercise his tongue about one, is as if we should say: 'After bruises a beating,' or that: 'One bears the burden that others may enjoy the fame,' which is what is happening to us, according to the report of this young shepherdess, to whom it will be well to say that three 'muches' or three 'littles' bring people to a bad end: Much speech and little knowledge; much spending and little having; much presumption and little worth."

Silently and pensively went don Quijote along the road, and Sancho, who was thinking only of resting and putting something in his stomach, after a moment, asked the shepherdess whether they were very far from the inn.

"Not far," answered the damsel; "for the distance to be traversed to the farmhouse (and not the inn) must be about a kilometer."

"And what is a kilometer?" asked Sancho.

"A kilometer contains a thousand meters," replied the shepherdess.

"I do not understand that, either," said Sancho, "and I do not like to play with riddles."

"This is no riddle," answered the shepherdess; "but, if the squire would like to have it put more clearly, let me tell him that a kilometer contains somewhat more than a thousand Spanish yards."

"Then it does not seem to me to be so very near," said Sancho; "but, in fine, hunger that expects satisfaction is not hunger but happiness, since, when we arrive, we shall not have to wait for chops and roast kid."

Whereupon the travelers reached the edge of the forest, and there opened to view an extensive and fertile plain on which alternated fields of grain, just turning, with meadows covered with clover of many kinds and beds of vegetables, and arbors and nurseries here and there, scattered in agreeable and picturesque disorder. Don Quijote was filled with delight as he contemplated the pleasant country, to which was lent a mysterious and enchanting quiet by the warm atmosphere and the waning light of the summer

afternoon; and then, feeling in his soul the placidity of the rural life, he spoke as follows:

> What life could be more restful
> Than that of him who flees the worldly riot
> And pursues the deeply hidden
> Path that has been trodden
> By the few wise men that in the world have been?

In the meanwhile, to shorten the distance, and guided by the shepherdess, they took a cross-country road, and in a little while, proceeding along a lane bordered with wide-spreading trees, they reached the farm, which was one of those beautiful estates that Uncle Sam possesses, distributed throughout his vast domains as models for the farmers and cattlemen.

As soon as don Quijote had stopped his horse, on reaching the entrance to the rural dwelling, several servants approached him with every show of respect and attention; one of them took hold of Rocinante's bridle, another offered don Quijote his assistance, while another aided Sancho to dismount; and then the superintendent, a man of fine appearance and good breeding, placed himself at don Quijote's service, saying that he was the superintendent, and that his name was don William, and begging our hidalgo to go inside and rest in one of the rooms that were visible there.

Don Quijote thanked him for his courtesy, and, noting that at the back of the court stretched an arbor with seats and rustic tables, he said that he preferred to remain there to rest and enjoy himself. The superintendent, don William, consented to it; and don Quijote and his squire, to their great delight, seated themselves, while the shepherds drove the bleating sheep on to the folds.

The buildings might indeed serve as models. They stood in the middle of an orchard of fruit trees, with the dwelling-house in the center. About it the outbuildings were grouped, all singularly clean; as a whole they contained every kind of convenience and comfort, both for the flocks of the new crossings and for the shepherds that had charge of them; and very clever and discreet was Uncle Sam's idea, of having don Quijote conducted there by guile and artifice in order that he might rest and recover from the fatigues of the day, while giving him at the same time an opportunity to weave new plans.

Shortly after they arrived, in came the shepherdess, bringing on a tray six glasses of fine crystal, with foaming milk, still warm from the cows. Don Quijote drank it slowly, and then he said to the shepherdess that, since she was conferring such kindness upon him, she might think what he could do to return the favor, in view of his quality as a knight-errant, and that, likewise, he would be greatly pleased to know what her name was in order that he might fix it in his mind.

"Belisa is my name," said the shepherdess, "and as for repaying me, I have nothing to say except that I shall be more than happy if so worthy a knight will make himself at home at this inn."

"A lady, and not a shepherdess, you are, beautiful Belisa," said don Quijote, "for such are your courtesy and discretion that you might well be compared with that other Belisa, the one that was accompanied by the nymphs Cintia and Dorida."

"I say the same," said Sancho, "even if I am not acquainted with the señoras of which my master speaks;" and, turning to the superintendent, he added: "milk is a good thing, señor don . . . —what does your honor say your name is?"

"William, at the service of the squire," replied the superintendent.

Sancho made him a bow and said:

"As I was saying, señor innkeeper (and pardon me, your honor, if I do not call you by your Christian name, for fear that I may not be able to pronounce it); milk is a good thing, as I said, but something of substance and condiment would not go ill; for, understand, your honor, that we have traveled all day and we have had encounters and altercations by wholesale and retail; that shocks thin one down; and that one's stomach becomes empty by participation."

"First of all," said don William, "let señor Panza (for such they have told me is your name) know that I am not an innkeeper, but the superintendent of the farm and the herds."

"Well, then, that your honor may not

take umbrage, I say, señor farmer, be so good as to give us something to eat, for milk is more of a drink than a food."

"I shall serve you immediately," said don William, disguising his laughter; and he invited don Quijote to go into the dining-room to have something to eat; but, as the knight said they could eat just where they were with more comfort and pleasure, don William gave orders, and two or three servants began to come and go, bringing out the cloths and tableware, which they put on a willow table. Around them the guests proceeded to seat themselves with rural frankness, and master, servant and don William and the shepherdess partook of soup, cheese, butter, crisp bread, ham, and chops and a dessert of jelly and marmalade.

When they had finished the meal, Sancho said:

"It is true that there is nothing like baiting, and all the more so in an inn that does not seem like one, since it is so well supplied, for inns are always tricky and are wont to descend to giving penitence, and not pleasure, to the palate, as is the case on the present occasion, señor master."

"It is as thou sayest," said don Quijote; "but the truth is that with the passing of time (and much time has passed since the period of our adventures), it is natural that even inns and taverns should be changed, from the thieving hostelries they were, into abundant and well provisioned caravansaries; for, with the flitting of the years, things and customs are purified and refined."

"And are there many guests that come to this inn?" asked Sancho.

"No, indeed;" said don William, pleased to hear himself called innkeeper; and then he added: "to-day, without going farther, we give hospitality to your honors only."

"A bad business is this," said Sancho; "as we are knights-errant, we have not the custom of paying for service."

"Such a proceeding does not seem honorable to me," said don William, "and all the more so when the apartment that I put at your disposal is well worth twenty dollars."

"What are dollars?" asked Sancho.

"You are behind the times, señor squire," answered don William, "if you do not know that the dollar is the master of the world, since it is the money of the greatest known value."

"*Pesetas* or Gothic *pesos* and even *peluconas* you might say, and we should understand each other well enough," said Sancho; "but, returning to our account, on this occasion, brother innkeeper, you will go without dollars, but not without dolors for not collecting them; yet not for such trivialities should the manners and customs of knights-errant be changed, above all, since neither my master nor I have made the acquaintance of a farthing, for if we ever had it, it was wrested from us by that arch-rascal Uncle Sam on the occasion of our enchantment."

Don Quijote paid no attention to the conversation that was going on between don William and Sancho Panza, as he was entertaining himself by watching the return of the flocks to the folds, and the going and coming of the shepherds, who were busied with their tasks; but don William, in order to loose don Quijote's tongue, turned to him and said:

"Is it not true, señor knight, that no one may be denied wages without doing him an injustice and injury, since every one that labors or serves has the right to be paid in money in proportion to his labor and service."

"Yes; it is true; but the desire for money and gain ought not to be the mainspring and motive of our actions."

"That sounds well enough as a saying," remarked don William, "but what I know and what all the world knows is that in this our age, which is better and more prosperous in a thousand respects, than past ages, men concentrate all their energy and enthusiasm upon accumulating fortunes, both for the enjoyment of greater pleasure and for the increase of their honor."

"Not in this age only, but in all ages," said don Quijote, "has it been a desire and a vice of human beings to treasure up riches, until in modern times, as you say, this desire and longing has exceeded what occurred in happier epochs; and I call them happier because the increase of avarice (and such is its name) leads to malevolence, impoverishes the spirit, darkens the

understanding and makes man selfish and mean."

"So it is in theory," maintained don William, "but in practice it is quite different, for at every step it is to be noted that don Money is the finest of gentlemen."

Don Quijote took umbrage when he heard this assertion and the tone in which it was uttered, and he immediately replied:

"It is not wealth, señor Espantacabras,[1] that makes for the happiness and good name of mortals; man must be filled by loftier and nobler aims; and if your honor is ignorant of this because it does not come from within you, it will be hard for us to understand each other."

"May the señor don Quijote pardon me," said don William at once, "if I failed to express myself clearly, since what I meant to say was what happens in the case of most people, but not what I myself think; for I incline rather to your honor's opinion."

Don Quijote suddenly calmed down, and he said sententiously:

"It is illusion and insensate fantasy that move those that live to accumulate riches. They live in disquietude and anxiety, in schemes and speculations, in barter and gain, without a moment's repose, and every day with greater thirst for wealth, as if they were ill of hydropsy of the spirit and blindness of the understanding, since they are not able to see that when death comes their riches remain in the world, and he that stores them up returns poor and naked to the bosom of the earth.

"It turns out also, for the mockery and punishment of the miserly and avaricious man, that the fortune he has heaped up for his own benefit, and which he has not succeeded in enjoying, passes at length into the power of accumulated money, which increases industry and its rich products for the common weal, whereby is returned to the whole that which miserliness and avarice have subtracted. So admirable are the order and harmony with which Providence governs the world, that even the base and miserly, thinking to work out their own happiness, contribute unconsciously to the prosperity of states; and it could not be otherwise, since no one has the right to appropriate to himself what the supreme Creator poured out upon the face of the earth for the maintenance of all men."

As soon as don Quijote had ceased speaking, don William, who was listening to him with rapt attention, said:

"According to what may be observed, your honor is somewhat informed in economic science."

"What science is that?" asked don Quijote.

"It is the most modern of sciences and the one that most preoccupies wise men and rulers at the present time," answered don William.

"In what does it consist, or how is it defined?" don Quijote asked again.

"It consists," replied the superintendent, "in fostering the increase and best distribution of wealth, that is, of the fruits of the earth."

"If it is as you say, señor don William," said don Quijote, "this science is not new, but as old as the world, since at bottom it is an affair of morality, and morality has been the law of humanity since humanity was in swaddling-clothes."

"We are not agreed," replied don William; "for morality is a thing of the spirit or of what is called the inner law, and economy is entirely the reverse, since it deals with, and refers rather to, the body, and the necessity of sustaining it."

"What you say, señor farmer," replied don Quijote, "has the appearance but not the substance of truth. To give an example: if my mind does not so ordain, my members do not enter into exercise for a certain purpose; and so, if morality does not dispose, men do not incline to do right, even in the most material and tangible manner. A great problem is this about which we have spoken, of distributing the fruits of the earth with justice and equity; but this problem finds an effective and beneficent solution only when men become convinced, by one means or another, that the world is the inheritance of all and that all have a right to their daily bread."

[1] Frightener of goats.—THE EDITOR.

Don William did not attempt to offer new replies to don Quijote, and don Quijote said, after a pause:

"Night is wholly fallen, and how pleasantly and softly it invites the spirit to wander in silent meditations."

It was as don Quijote had said, for the tranquil repose of the farm, the breeze laden with country perfumes, the melancholy bleating of the sheep, the song of one and another wakeful bird, the quietude in which nature slept and the light of the pensive stars communicated to the mind a sweet and serene abstraction.

Don Quijote would have passed long hours there, given over to his meditations, if Sancho's drowsiness and the effort that he and don William made to cause him to retire had not led him to decide to favor them and take himself off to bed, to sleep like a Benedictine.

Chapter XXI

IN WHICH WILL BE RELATED WHAT WILL BE FOUND IN IT

THE sun had been up for more than two hours when don Quijote awoke. He dressed hastily and awakened Sancho, who was still snoring. As master and servant left the room, they met don William and others that belonged to the farm, who were awaiting them; and they at once sat down to the table and did honor to an appetizing breakfast, at which the shepherdess Belisa was present. With the last mouthful, don Quijote was ready to take leave, but don William did not consent, saying that it was unnecessary to be in such haste.

"But it is necessary," said don Quijote, "for, your honor, señor don William, must know that to-day I have to undertake an adventure that admits of no delay, since in it are engaged my name and salvation and the liberty of a kingdom."

"I am informed regarding this adventure," replied the superintendent, "for a short time ago arrived two heralds in search of your honor, and when I thought to awaken you, they said it was not necessary, but, quite to the contrary, that it would be well for my señor don Quijote to take a good rest, to be refreshed and strong for a certain encounter and combat that awaits him to-day; and the heralds added, among other recommendations, that your honor should have the kindness to set out after midday, and not before, that your arrival at the road of the Outrages should occur at the opportune moment and the one of greatest danger."

"In behalf of whom did those heralds come?" inquired don Quijote.

"I asked them the same thing," answered don William, "but they were not minded to tell me his name, they making it understood only that they were sent by a certain wise friend of your honor's, and that he offers you his support and protection in this event."

"Since the heralds have said this, it must needs be that we wait," said don Quijote; "let it not be said afterward that because I was impatient or fearful I bungled this delicate enterprise."

With time then at their disposal, don William invited don Quijote to take a walk through the shady groves that surrounded the farm-house, and they were accompanied by Sancho and the shepherdess Belisa. Our hidalgo was highly pleased with his walk, and for their greater comfort and to give their breakfast time to digest, they all seated themselves in a beautiful summer-house covered with flowering creepers, and in front of which, among rose-trees and lilies, pansies and verbenas, flowed a crystalline brook, artificially brought there to refresh the surroundings. That little nook—for such the shepherdess called it—was a leafy and delightful refuge against the rays of the burning sun, and the foliage and the flowers and the perfume disposed the mind to bucolic poetry. So don Quijote said, and then, with a tranquil and mellifluous voice, he recited:

Muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba,
Et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra,
Solstitium pecori defendite: iam venit aestas
Torrida, iam laeto turgent in palmi te gemmae.

When he had finished reciting the verses, don Quijote sighed tenderly, and the shepherdess asked:

"What verses are those?"

"They are the ones spoken by Corydon in eclogue VII," answered don Quijote.

"They are probably very beautiful," replied the shepherdess, "but, to my regret, I do not understand what they mean, as I am a stranger to the language in which your honor recited them with such sweetness and sentiment."

"Then I shall try to translate them, out of homage to you, for, although not in verse, this is what they mean in prose: 'Ye mossy springs, and grass softer than sleep, and the green arbutus that shields you with its scant shade, ward the noontide heat from my flock. Now comes the summer's parching, now the buds swell on the gladsome tendril.'"[2]

"Very opportune and appropriate this poetry seems to me," said the shepherdess, "and if your honor knows anything else that suits the place and occasion as well, I should be pleased to hear it."

"Yes; I know something else," said don Quijote; and with tender eyes and sweet and subdued voice he recited:

Flowing waters, pure and crystalline;
Trees that look down upon yourselves in them;
Green meadow, nestling beneath the fresh shade,
Birds that scatter here your quarrels,
Ivy that travelest through the trees,
Winding thy way over their green bosom;
I found myself so removed
From the great uneasiness I feel
That from pure happiness
In your solitude I took refreshment,
Where in sweet sleep I reposed,
Or in thought I wandered forth
Whither nothing found I
Save memories filled with joy.

Don William and the shepherdess rewarded don Quijote with many congratulations and much applause as soon as he had finished reciting the verses, and even Sancho was of the opinion that the composition and rime were very pleasant to the ear.

"And not to the ear alone, but also to the understanding," affirmed don Quijote.

"From what I see," said don William, "at this point, your honor is not only a knight-errant, but also a poet."

"I do not boast of being one," said don Quijote, "for I have composed only a few tolerable madrigals, the product of a heart torn by the pangs of love."

"I should never have believed it," said Belisa, "through modesty, not for any other reason, your honor disguises and conceals your ability and dexterity in composing poetry."

"I possess no such ability," said don Quijote, "but if I did, I am sure I should not show it off, and it is also true that I should not deny it, for to deny it would not be modesty but falsehood."

All remained silent, and don Quijote said, after a moment:

"Poetry has two manners or acceptations in the world, or, what is the same thing, there are two kinds of poets: those that make poetry and those that write or recite it. The former are the ones that, in my opinion, possess much and excellent merit, for by their deeds, great and noble, like those of the heroes, or deep and admirable, like those of the learned, or tender and solicitous, like those of lovers, or whether magnanimous and disinterested, like those of the good and the holy; by their deeds, I repeat, they compose epic poems, philosophical songs, lyric tragedes and enchanting psalms, in which lives beauty, as in the fruitful plant that gives delight with its comeliness and the perfume of its flowers. The other kind, that is, those that compose verses, possess, rightly understood, less of the poet, although more of art, for what they sing and describe is, indeed, no more than what they admire in nature and in their fellows. Who then has the greater merit, he that really lives poetry in his actions or he that sings or repeats it?"

"It seems to me," said Sancho at this point, "that he that does is better than he that says, only the latter is more discreet and prudent, since he exposes himself in no wise, while achieving a good name and favors and perhaps gaining a few farthings by the sale of what has been printed, although it is not a very flourishing trade, for hunger and the troubadour always go arm in arm."

[2]Don Quijote, of course, gave a Spanish translation; we have taken the English translation of the Latin verses from H. Rushton Fairclough's *Virgil, with an English Translation*, London, William Heinemann: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, volume I, page 53.—THE EDITOR.

"It is clear, friend Sancho," said the shepherdess, "that if your master is the first among dreamers, you are the first among the practical and the utilitarian, for you see things only on the side of expediency."

"That is true," said Sancho, "but to my misfortune, while following my master, it turns out that the blows fall more on me than on him."

"But, also, you receive favors," remarked don William.

"They are few and of no great value," said Sancho.

"It is to be seen," commented don William, "that no one is content in this world."

"Nor could any one be," responded don Quijote, "for in one way or another suffering is an inherent ill of human life."

"It all depends," said Sancho; "for one can also live comfortably and happily."

"I do not deny," added the hidalgo, "that one sometimes experiences prosperity, but it is so fugitive and transitory that it merely serves to render all the harder the tribulation with which it is always accompanied; and then, thinking of the sorrows of the world and its miseries, while beholding here and there sufferings, injustices and weaknesses, dampens all pleasure and enjoyment."

"This must be," replied Sancho, "when one thrusts himself in where he is not invited; for it is prudent and wise that every cat be seized by its claws, and that one try to save his skin and that of his horse."

"The world is a vale of tears," continued don Quijote, without giving any heed to the reply of his squire; "the everlasting aspiration, the longing to find happiness and glory, the maladies of the body and of the soul, cause our existence to be, in short, a perennial anxiety to fly from pain and to lay hold of happiness, which is the incurable mania of our insensate vigils. This of which I speak and which is and will always be old and always new, because it is applicable to men of all ages and all generations, is summed up by the great philosopher that set forth his opinion when he said: '*Feciste nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.*'"

"It brings me no pleasure, and it seems to me rather to be a bad augury," said Sancho, "that my señor master should set himself to say responses, as if he were a parish priest or rescuer from purgatory."

Don William and the shepherdess smiled at Sancho's facetiousness, and even don Quijote himself applauded the sally; but afterward, recalling the adventure in prospect, the hidalgo said:

"The hour has come to set out, for not in eclogues and philosophizings are we to waste time, and the precious occasion that summons me. Go therefore, Sancho, to saddle Rocinante, and let us be off at once."

"Rocinante and the gray are ready," said don William, "for, in truth, it is now the hour at which the heralds said your honor was to set forth."

"That is, we are going to take to the road again?" asked Sancho. "This is a day, indeed, and another also. See, my señor master, that life is thus a breath and, by way of rest and variety, it seems to me that we might remain in this farmhouse and make for ourselves an Arcadia, such as your honor planned at another time. To live tranquilly, nothing is lacking here, for your honor could fall in love with the pretty shepherdess, and the first woman that might happen along would be good enough for me."

"Have done with Arcadias and outpourings," said don Quijote, "for the hour is one of battle."

"So it is, indeed," added don William, "and there is no other remedy, señor Sancho, than to set forth on the campaign, for the heralds charged, over and over again, that the squire should not loiter behind and remain at ease."

"All this seems very well to me, my señor," said the angry Sancho Panza. "Only yesterday the señoras pythonesses and the oracles, and to-day the heralds, dispose of my person according to their pleasure. Who are they, and with what right do they draw me into these straits, for I have never laid eyes on these persons in my life and they have just been introduced to me by name. Nothing more was lacking! May they go to the place where father Padilla went, because, as for

myself, I shall have nothing more to do with them, and in proof of this, I remain here as a shepherd or laborer, since for something it has been said, 'Shoemaker, stick to thy last,' and 'Let every fellow stand by his field.'"

"See here, Sancho, do not provoke me and do not drive me to anger," said don Quijote, "because thou knowest already that thy knaveries and thy fears have cost thee dear."

"And so dear," replied Sancho, "that hitherto, in all the years that I have served your honor, I have laid nothing by, and I am becoming bald."

"Courage, courage," said the superintendent, "for as to remaining here, this is impossible for the squire, since if he should attempt to do so, and I should consent, calamities and misfortunes would befall the farm, as the heralds prognosticated."

"They tell one that this is not an inn, and they permit one to unsaddle, and we have the heralds again, and then some more of their mania for making me do what I have no mind to!" protested Sancho; and he said, "who has given your honor a candle at this funeral, and if you had it, why did you not wake me up when these rascals came to play the devil with me, and make them see that I am nobody's fool and that I do not let any one run over me?"

"Have patience, brother," said the shepherdess, "for it would be useless to try to remain, since no one is permitted to stay here, and if you go about the country, you will be pursued by robbers and devoured by the lions and panthers that abound and run loose in this part of the world."

"It would be worse than that," said don William, "because if the squire does not decide to go along, I, complying with my obligation, shall have to shut him up in the calaboose until the heralds return to behead him, for those gentlemen explained the case thus a thousand and one times."

"That is to say, that they will lead me to the slaughter anyway?" asked Sancho.

"Fear not, my son, for thy health," said don Quijote, "for I shall be responsible for it."

"Your honor is not the person in whom one ought to confide in the affair of responsibility," answered Sancho, "but if for going they beat me, as is certain, and if for remaining they throw me into the calaboose and cut my head off, which also is certain, of two evils the lesser, and I prefer to go; for this señor Espantacabras and this doña Sabidilla[3] must be Judaizers, since, without making any bones of it, they attempt to sacrifice a Christian. Have thy own way, mule, and lay on the blows, and it is just as well to sell what is to be pawned, and let us get away as soon as possible from this inn, which appears to be hell itself!"

While speaking, all four of them were walking along, and when they reached the court of the farm-house, they found the saddle animals ready. Sancho immediately mounted the gray, without a thought of ceremony; and, examining his saddle-bags, he discovered that they were empty, and he said:

"Not a ration of cold meats have we, even for the road."

"Not on this account are you going to stay behind," said the shepherdess, and she went out and came back bringing more than a medium supply of provisions, which the squire stowed away to the best of his ability. Then don Quijote took leave of the superintendent, the shepherdess and the men of the farm, who stood about with all respect and courtesy; and master and servant set out, guided by a shepherd that knew the way.

In less than half an hour our travelers reached the railway. Then they took leave of the shepherd, and don Quijote, happy to have come again to a road that seemed so mysterious and significant, said to Sancho:

"Here we are once more faring forth, and my heart tells me that if we do but follow this path, so rigidly inclosed between these rails of iron that seem to represent inflexible destiny, we must soon reach the end of the adventure and emprise of disenchanting the kingdom of Quivira."

"What we are going to reach is the end of our lives," said Sancho; "and we well deserve it; that is, I do not deserve it, but your honor does, for being so capricious and foolhardy."

[3]Know-all, wiseacre—THE EDITOR.

The two horses began to move at an easy gait, and shortly afterward they saw, appearing in the distance, coming along the same road, something like a monstrous beast, which was belching out a heavy, frightful smoke. Don Quijote stopped and said:

"Seest what is coming toward us? It is nothing less than a dragon, with which I shall soon have to deal in single combat."

"Dragons with me? What are my feet for?" said Sancho, terrified; and, jumping off the gray, which refused to obey the bridle, he ran, quicker than a flash, to hide himself in the thick woods. A few moments passed, and then could be heard the snort of the locomotive that was approaching; for it was a train and nothing else—the supposed dragon—which was coming along the railway in the distance, shedding on the tops of the trees of the wood the smoke of its tangled tresses. Don Quijote vacillated between the idea of attacking the monster and of awaiting it, but, as he saw that it was coming toward him, he decided to follow the latter; so, firm in his stirrups, lance in place, frowning and threatening, his few teeth set, his face gaunt and fierce, he prepared for the encounter; while Sancho, in the thicket, seeing the ferocious locomotive approaching, stood terrified and with his mouth open, just as a multitude of spectators showed their heads among the trees of the forest, contemplating in suspense a scene such as had never before been witnessed. The locomotive whistled, and—with the panting of a maddened beast and making its wheels grind—creepingly and proudly, it came toward don Quijote with majestic arrogance.

"Stop, fierce animal, infamous dragon!" cried the gallant knight of La Mancha; "for straightway, like the knight Saint George, I shall set my foot upon thy proud neck! O thou, señora Dulcinea del Toboso, hasten to thy knight in this harsh encounter and this never-beheld adventure!"

Saying this, don Quijote drove his spurs into Rocinante and dashed at the monster with heroic courage and daring gallantry.

Chapter XXII

WHICH TREATS OF THE END AND CONCLUSION OF THE FOR A THOUSAND REASONS FAMOUS ADVENTURE OF THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF QUIVIRA

WELL instructed and very wary and expert was the engineer in managing the locomotive in such a way as to cause it to frighten don Quijote, without doing him the least harm; so, as soon as he saw that the audacious knight was attacking with such impetuosity, he did what is called reversing the engine, and it backed very hastily, which, being observed by don Quijote, led him to burst out in exclamations against the cowardice and baseness of enchanters and dragons. The engineer, however, acting under orders, and just in time, stopped the engine, and, as if to reply to don Quijote's challenge, being always careful to preserve the proper distance, he then started it forward again, letting off steam on both sides, deafening the air with the whistle, and making it snort in such a way that any one except our brave knight would have given way terrified. At this point began a game and a mock battle of the greatest interest and impressiveness that ever was seen. The locomotive went back and forth, drawing after it its train of numerous coaches, like a gigantic, frightful snake; don Quijote attacked, vomiting insults, yet unable to overtake it; the onslaught increased from moment to moment; but in this dangerous hoax, the charging hidalgo being carried away, he also succeeded in setting Rocinante off, and the latter went ahead full tilt; and, before the engineer had time to back away, the enraged don Quijote dashed forward with his lance, trying to drive it into the glass eye of the fierce locomotive. So violent was the shock that horse and rider rolled on the ground, the lance flew into pieces, the train stopped, and a cry burst from those that were in it and from those that witnessed the scene from the thick of the woods; but he of the sad figure, panting and angry, rose at a bound, and, although he limped and his face was bloody and covered with scratches and bruises, he again mounted Rocinante; and, for want of a lance, laid hand on his sword, rushed

on the dragon and attacked with the flat of his weapon the side of the locomotive, which began to back away as if beaten and overawed, while from the wood, the engineer's cab, the tender and the coaches a burst of applause and hurrahs saluted don Quijote and proclaimed him the victor in the famous and never-before-seen adventure.

There would have been no end to the blows with which don Quijote punished the engine—such was his dauntless attack—had it not been that at the moment there descended from the train a great and noble cortège of ladies and gentlemen. In front came as many as six heralds, with shining trumpets, who advanced to salute don Quijote in a loud voice, and saying:

"Vanquished is the monster! Disenchanted is the kingdom! Honor and glory to the señor don Quijote de la Mancha, the disenchanter of Quivira and Yankeeland!"

Don Quijote was astounded at hearing these words, and still more so when he saw the retinue that followed the heralds; and, ceasing his blows, with his sword held high and with a proud gesture, he was at a loss for a moment, when two of the heralds, laying hold of Rocinante's bridle, after the manner of grooms, exclaimed:

"Permit, your highness, that we conduct your noble steed to the presence of his majesty the king of Quivira, emperor of Yankeeland and lord of the United States and of dominions in the Americas!"

Perturbed by the singular scene and without fully understanding what was happening, don Quijote let himself be led along, while those of the retinue opened to right and left, rendering him homage, as in the ceremony of a reception to legates and ambassadors. At the end of the lane formed by the ladies and gentlemen, raised upon a sort of portable throne and surrounced by black slaves, who made shelter for him with great fans of showy feathers, was the so-called king and emperor, who was Uncle Sam himself, slightly disguised; for, in order not to make himself known to don Quijote, he had had his goatee shaved off, and he had put on a very heavy wig of iron-gray hair. His majesty was dressed in a tunic of scarlet, with small-clothes of changeable velvet, stockings of silk, embroidered with gold, and shoes of the same material. The whole costume was very beautiful, and it was overlaid with spangles and precious stones. He wore also a rich crown, set upon his head like a cap, held stiffly and awkwardly; he held, gripped in his right hand, a sort of scepter, very similar to the rods used by circus trainers; and, as a complement to his royal insignia and vestments, our good Uncle was honored by a mantle of scarlet bedecked with as many stars as there are states in his dominions. However, and without his being able to hide it, he seemed delighted to conceal his person and his principles as a thoroughgoing democrat under the disguise of aristocracy.

When don Quijote reached the presence of the so-called king and emperor, one of those that acted as grooms held his stirrup, and then the hidalgo, recovered from his astonishment and entirely at home in affairs of ceremony and courtesy, sheathed his falchion, descended from Rocinante, and with great decorum and urbanity bent his knee before his pretended majesty. The monarch, without permitting him to kneel, said to him:

"Not at my feet, but in my arms, señor knight, is where your greatness and valor ought to be at this moment of happy memory in which you have driven away demons, dispersed armies, conquered the dragon and disenchanted my person, the persons of my vassals and my kingdom. At this point and hour are fulfilled the announcements of the pythonessses and the oracles, and behold, henceforth the Knight of the Sad Figure shall bear the device and blazonry of a prince and paladin of Yankeeland!"

"Let thanks be given to Heaven and not to me," said don Quijote, receiving with a respectful acknowledgment the arm of Uncle Sam, "for it was not my lance, but that of him who governs the worlds and places in the hearts of mortals a glimmer of his divine justice."

The interest, with a mixture of fun, with which all the spectators witnessed the scene, changed somewhat to emotion when they heard the words of don Quijote, and even more so when they beheld our hidalgo so battered and lacerated; for he was cov-

ered with sweat, his face was bleeding, and he could hardly keep his feet, so bruised and damaged had he been left by his tumble. One of the ladies, prompt and filled with pity, approached him and, after asking his permission, wiped his face with a perfumed handkerchief of batiste. All were standing in silence, when Sancho, coming to himself. his fear having passed, became aware that his master had issued victorious from the fight and that they were paying him homage. Without more delay, he went to where the colt was waiting quietly, tightened the girth, mounted with alacrity, and, putting spurs to the gray, pushed his way into the throng of ladies and gentlemen. As soon as he reached the place where his master stood, he sprang off the donkey and went to prostrate himself at the feet of the supposed king. Don Quijote was extremely mortified by the impertinence of his squire, but he bit his lips, and only made out to say to him:

"Back, Sancho; it is not proper for a squire to appear before his majesty."

"I shall retire," answered the servant, without rising; "but I do not see anything wrong in prostrating myself before this señor king, who seems somewhat to resemble a person I know of; and all the more so when we have just brought to a conclusion so great an adventure and have disenchanted a whole kingdom. It is time to begin to ask who owes whom."

"Silence, knavish dolt, and affront me not," said don Quijote in an undertone; but Uncle Sam, tickled to hear the squire, spoke as follows:

"Permit, your honor, señor don Quijote, the noble Sancho to take part in the general rejoicing; besides, he has a good enough right, because I and my kingdom are obliged to reverence not only the master, but also the servant, as he has played a good part in the enterprise."

"That is the truth, señor king of Mentira,[4] I mean, of Quivira," said Sancho, without blinking; "for, although it has not fallen to my lot to do much in the battle, I have done not a little in the way of fearing, not to mention that there were no squires with whom to fight; else, be sure, your majesty, I should have given a good account of them; and as for this fierce and never-before-seen dragon, which, be it said in passing, seems to me not yet to have yielded up the ghost, I know of no book of chivalry that says that Christians should not avenge themselves on brutes."

Whereupon the whistle of the locomotive blew, and Sancho, startled, clung to Uncle Sam and said:

"See, your majesty, this dragon is still alive."

"Yes; it still lives," said Uncle Sam, "but conquered and domesticated, for, as the oracle said, as soon as señor don Quijote should tame it (and it is now tame), instead of being noxious and dangerous, this monster would serve as the noblest and gentlest pleasure and even draft animal."

"It may be as the oracle said," replied Sancho, still dubious; "but bear in mind, your majesty, that: he that has evil tricks, late or never will forget them; that disposition and figure stay by us to the tomb; and that the fox changes its teeth, but not its wiles."

All laughed at Sancho's proverbs, and don Quijote said:

"Pardon, your majesty, the effrontery of this servant, who so much annoys me; and thou, Sancho, begone to the servants, with whom thou oughtest to consort."

"I shall never consent to such a thing," answered Uncle Sam, "for too great is my gratitude to the squire for the part he has taken in disenchanting me and my kingdom; and, to save the scruples of the señor don Quijote and to recompense the servant, henceforth the good Sancho Panza shall not be a squire, but a knight, for as such I dub and proclaim him, giving him a seat at my court and more than one island and county for his maintenance and government."

"Joy, joy!" exclaimed Sancho, and turning to his master, he said to him:

"See now, your honor, how liberal and freehearted is our king; but, by my troth, the favor and gift with which he honors me will not go hard with him, such will be the account and reason that I shall give him in the detail of the government of the islands and terra firma which, if I have not heard ill, he is to grant me, although there has been no description of the said terri-

[4]Falsehood.—The Editor.

tories, the names of which I should be pleased to learn, as well as the signs thereof, in order to fix them in my memory, that thay may not escape me."

"The affair of the name is of little moment to you," answered Uncle Sam, "for, since you are to choose from among many, you will soon see the one or ones that may please you the most; but it is sufficient for you to know that I am the owner and father of half a continent and the keeper and stepfather of the other half, and that I have more than enough states and lands from which to bestow on you the promised favor."

"Well, if I am permitted to choose," said Sancho, "I prefer to enter into the first half, for in the second half there will be stepsons, who are always turbulent and ungovernable."

Don Quijote was fuming as he listened to his squire, and he said to him:

"Kiss the hand of his sacred royal majesty as a sign of gratitude, and bite thy tongue that it may not utter nonsense."

"As to kissing his hand," answered Sancho, "I shall do it with much pleasure; but as to biting my tongue, it will be sufficient if I keep quiet, although, to my seeming, just and very just is it to overflow in expressions of appreciation when so great a favor is done me, for 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks;' everyone belches according to what he has eaten; and one ought to give to the grateful more than he asks for."

Sancho was going to continue spouting proverbs, when don Quijote, unable to restrain himself, fixed his gaze on him with such indignation and gave him so expressive a look, that the squire realized that affairs might become serious; so, saying to himself, "A closed mouth never gets a fly in it," he assumed a circumspect air and remained silent, much to the regret of Uncle Sam and his court, who found the greatest pleasure in listening to Sancho's sallies.

Whereupon—and making a sign to the bystanders that they should control their countenances—for soon they were going to have a chance to laugh over the affair of the court and the king, Uncle Sam said to don Quijote:

"Your honor must know that, as I have already said, the oracles and pythonesses, who announced this glorious day of your triumph and victory and the disenchantment of my kingdom, predicted also that, when the dragon should be conquered, he would serve as a docile and humble beast to transport his conqueror and all those that were with him; so that, from a fabulous animal, he would be turned into a beast, gentle but with extraordinary strength for drawing, which would go through the fields, cross rivers, climb and descend mountains and even break through their depths, for thus is evilly inclined and harmful power changed into beneficence, when knightliness and reason tame and guide it. Therefore the bowels of this wild beast, to appearances so fierce and frightful, are converted, thanks to what I have already said, into luxurious chambers, entering which and loosing the strong bridle of the former dragon, it will have to carry us to the capital of my states, as was announced by the pythonesses in all detail; that which was formerly a terror and a danger becoming a convenience and a pleasure."

Don Quijote marveled at what was said by Uncle Sam, and he spoke as follows:

"*Great and unheard-of things are seen by those that follow the order of knight-errantry,* for, according to what your majesty says, the change and transformation of this monster is the art of magic, and it must have been through some wise man or necromancer that were wrought these prodigies, which do not belong or pertain to the common run of humans."

"Your honor is quite right," answered Uncle Sam, "and the wise man to whom is due this miracle and marvel is, without doubt, the one that protects, and stands sponsor for, your honor; and there is nothing strange about the affair, for, as my señor don Quijote well understands, the wise men and enchanters already mentioned, in like manner as they pass their protégés over great distances on clouds of fire, so do they carry and conduct them on dragons and monsters, changed, according to appearances, into machinery and drawing-rooms, transporting them by art of magic from town to town, hill to hill and mountain to mountain."

Don Quijote agreed with an inclination of his head to what Uncle Sam was saying and Sancho, again thrusting himself into the conversation, remarked:

"Very true is what is said by the king and confirmed by my master, but a man forewarned is equal to two, and prevision is the mother of good luck, and, in conclusion, I prefer my gray to all the dragons and monsters that are in the world, although they be domesticated and as gentle as lambs; because the evil we know of is better than the good that is to be known, and I shall go along behind the dragon of your majesty, riding my gray, as contented and happy as one could ever ask to be."

"The valiant Sancho will do nothing of the kind," said Uncle Sam, "and as soon as he sees us mount, he will come along to make this triumphal tour with us."

Having spoken thus, Uncle Sam extended his hand to don Quijote, and don Quijote gave him his right hand with noble courtesy; and, the Uncle of our history assuming the airs of majesty, and don Quijote somewhat reluctantly, the two ascended to the platform of a luxurious coach, of the kind they call Pullman, and passed through the vestibule, with many civilities and courtesies, our hero not showing any astonishment at the significant change and transformation of the dragon.

When Sancho saw that all were entering, and that he was going to be left alone, he said to himself: "When thou goest to a country, do what thou seest," and, summoning up his courage, he also ascended, and, a trifle angry, he went to place himself beside his master, without heeding the many civilities and compliments that all offered him on his resolution and daring. Shortly afterward the locomotive whistled, lifted into the air the tousled plume of its locks; and, like a prodigious dragon or leviathan of terra firma, with the going and coming of the muscles of its pistons, the heavy breathing of its black lungs and the grinding of its steel joints, the train set out with the majesty of a superb and frightful beast.[5]

[5]This is the conclusion of part I of the work—all that has been written. The author has in mind to prepare a second part—after the manner of Cervantes, yet, we hope, with less delay—in which he intends to relate the further adventures of don Quijote and Sancho Panza, with colloquies and moralizings regarding the strange world in which the adventurous Spaniards had come to life.—THE EDITOR.

MIRANDA AS A PHILOSOPHER AND SCHOLAR

BY

MANUEL SEGUNDO SÁNCHEZ

The author of this article has brought to light a work that seems to have been lost sight of, one that emphasizes an aspect of Miranda's versatile mind that has received little attention hitherto. In developing the theme, he makes extensive appeal to a monograph by one of our fellow-countrymen, whom he characterizes as "the most diligent of Miranda's biographers, and, in our opinion, the most faithful elucidator of his enterprises." Historians and students will be interested in the article and in the aspects of the patriot's mind on which it throws light.—THE EDITOR.

IN NONE of the histories of Miranda nor in the copious bibliography of which Arístides Rojas, Becarra, O'Kelly of Galway and William Spence Robertson made use in writing the life of the illustrious son of Caracas whose deeds rendered his name famous in two worlds, appears the work that has given rise to the following thoughts. This book by a learned French archæologist, sculptor and politician brings out a generally disregarded aspect of Miranda's mind: his vast philosophic and artistic erudition.

The volume is entitled *Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athènes et à Rome écrites les unes au célèbre Canova, les autres au Général Miranda*, by Monsieur Quatremère de Quincy, new edition, Paris, Imprimerie d'Adrien Le Clerc et Compagnie, 1836, octavo, XVI+ 283 pages. The good fortune of finding it, in one of our second-hand book-shops, fell to the lot of the eminent *book-lover*[1] don José Austria; and thanks to the generosity of this kind friend, the rare copy has reached our hands.

Robertson, the most diligent of Miranda's biographers, and, in our opinion, the most faithful elucidator of his enterprises, has barely let us glimpse the meeting of the generalissimo with Quatremère de Quincy in the prison of the Madelonettes in 1794.[2] Doubtless, in this narrow prison and in the hour of common danger, sprang up the friendship that was to bind together these two lofty souls.

Don Arístides Rojas does not list Quatremère de Quincy among the companions of Miranda in the prison of La Force. He said:

> There was a group among the prisoners that seemed inseparable. It was composed of Miranda, Champagneux, Achille de Châtelet, Chastelain, Daunou, and, among others, the Girondins Valazé and Vergniaud. Cultivated intelligences and independent characters are almost always found without solicitation on their part. It was impossible that such men—writers, orators, historians—should not gather about Miranda, the favorite sword of the Gironde, as he was called so properly by the historian Louis Blanc. They were drawn together by moral force, strengthened by fraternity, fortified by duty. . . . Love of liberty was for all of them a bond of union, and nobility of sentiment a perennial source of common consolation. . . . De Châtelet, in his will, left to Miranda his large library and his furniture.[3]

However, before proceeding, let us recall who Antoine Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy was. He was born in Paris in 1755, and he died there in 1849. From early childhood—according to one of his biographers—he showed a great liking for the fine arts. He began the study of law, which he soon abandoned to follow his favorite studies: architecture and sculpture. With a view to perfecting himself he visited the principal cities of Italy. When the French revolution broke out, he embraced

[1] English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

[2] Robertson: *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*, volume I, page 302 of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1907*, Washington, 1908.

[3] Rojas: *Leyendas históricas de Venezuela:* "Las primeras prisiones de Miranda."

its principles with enthusiasm. A deputy for Paris to the legislative assembly (1791), he worked energetically for constitutional principles. Imprisoned during the Reign of Terror, he was set free upon the death of Robespierre. He was one of the first instigators of the insurrection of the thirteenth Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795), and as such he was condemned to death. He escaped it by fleeing from Paris. A member of the council of five hundred (1797) as deputy for the Seine, he ardently defended the royalist cause, and he strove with great energy against republican institutions; hence his name was inscribed in the list for deportation of the eighteenth and twentieth Fructidor, year V. Summoned later by the consular government, he was appointed a member, and a short time afterward, the secretary, of the general council of the department of the Seine. In 1814, he became royal censor and he received the cross of the Légion d'Honneur and the cordon of Saint-Michel. Superintendent of arts and public monuments and a member of the board of public instruction, the following year he was made perpetual secretary of the Académie des Beux-Arts and professor of archæology. In 1820 and 1821 he occupied a seat in the assembly as a deputy, and in the latter year he retired to private life, devoting himself thenceforth wholly to his literary labors. His most interesting works are: *Dictionnaire de l'architecture;* a memorial on the following question: *De l'architecture égyptienne considérée dans son origine... et son goût et comparée... à l'architecture grecque; Le Jupiter Olympien, ou l'art de la sculpture antique; Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Raphael; Dictionnaire historique d'architecture,* et cetera.

Being now somewhat acquainted with the illustrious author of the *Lettres* to Canova and to Miranda, it seems opportune to call attention to those traits in the life of our compatriot that serve as evidence of his superior intellectual gifts and to which he owed the regard and consideration with which he was distinguished by the greatest men of his times. In order not to weary our readers with innumerable quotations—such is the abundance of them that we might introduce—we shall limit ourselves to making extracts from the work of the conspicuous Professor Robertson of the most striking paragraphs that relate to our subject:

. . . in the summer of 1785 *The Political Herald and Review* declared that there was then in London a Spanish American of "great consequence and possessed of the confidence of his fellow-citizens," who aspired "to the glory of being the deliverer of his country." He was a man of "sublime views and penetrating understanding, skilled in the ancient and modern languages, conversant in books and acquainted with the world." This "distinguished character" had spent many years in the study of politics, governments and the changes in political societies. He had proceeded from North America to England, which he regarded as "the mother-country of liberty and the school for political knowledge."[4]

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Miranda arrived in London from his extended continental tour in the last days of June, 1789. He must have profited greatly by his journeying in America and Europe. The years of travel, with their manifold experiences, had enriched his mind. He had evidently studied the conditions of the military art and the workings of the government in most of the leading nations of Europe. Observant by nature, he had acquired a superficial acquaintance with the political conditions of the United States and a more or less intimate knowledge of various European courts. His grasp of the French language, which was afterwards to stand him in such good stead, had doubtless been much strengthened. His mental horizon had been widened, his versatility increased and his circle of acquaintances extended. In the United States he believed that Hamilton and Knox at least would aid him in the accomplishment of the grand design that was soon to become with him a ruling passion. The powerful Empress Catherine had become the patron and protector of Miranda, and scandal soon played fast and loose with their names. The retentive memory of Miranda had fastened on many anecdotes of courts and camps that were no small addition to the mental equipment of the man who, as we shall see, was to devote a large part of his remaining days to a persistent attempt, or, rather, to a series of attempts, to interest men

[4]William Spence Robertson: *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America,* page 257, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909 [a reprint].—All the quotations from Professor Robertson, which had been translated into Spanish, have been taken directly from the English original of the work mentioned.—THE EDITOR.

of widely different types—statesmen, politicians, merchants, philanthropists, adventurers, vagabonds—in his conspiracies against the peace and integrity of the dominions of Spain in America. If he had not, indeed, like Hannibal, pleaded for aid at every court he visited, he must, nevertheless, have interested many people, for some fleeting time at least, in the cause of Spanish America.[5]

On November 26, 1792, Miranda succeeded General Labourdonnaye in command of a division of the army of the north. This appointment was due to the influence of Dumoriez, commander-in-chief of the armies operating against Belgium. On assuming command of Labourdonnaye's troops, Miranda vigorously prosecuted the siege of Antwerp, which capitulated on November 29. . . . If we may trust a document printed later through the agency of Miranda, before leaving Antwerp, the latter gained the esteem of the bishop of that city, who presented him with some Spanish and Latin classics as a token of the "homage due to the philosopher, the man of letters and science, to the great military character."[6]

Miranda, being accused before the convention on account of the loss of the battle of Neerwinden (March 19, 1793), which forced the French army to evacuate the Netherlands, proceeded to Paris. Robertson says:

On April 4 he wrote to the president of the convention asking that he be heard in his own defense. On April 8 he was examined by the committee of war. He was soon arraigned for treason before the revolutionary tribunal. Cheaveau Lagarde, who subsequently defended Marie Antoinette, pleaded eloquently for the accused general, whose conduct and motives he lauded. The defense was very skilfully conducted, and on May 16, 1793, after examining Miranda and summoning witnesses to give evidence, the jury unanimously declared that Miranda had not betrayed the interests of the republic in the operations at Maestricht, Liége or Neerwinden. When the decision was announced, Miranda took advantage of the dramatic moment to declare that his case was an example of the ease with which calumnies were credited. In the words of the *Moniteur*, "The people applauded the judgment and the discourse of Miranda; they received him in their arms, carried him in triumph and crowned him.[7]

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After his acquittal he took up his abode at Belleville, a suburb of Paris, where he surrounded himself with books, engravings, pictures and other mementoes of his travels. According to his own account, he proposed to busy himself in arranging his correspondence and writing his process. . . . At the same time or a little later, Miranda's house was searched, perhaps because of the suspicion that he had smuggled arms and ammunition into his residence.[8]

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The reports of the officers who sealed the papers and other belongings of Miranda show that he had a considerable amount of property; one box of "marbres" is mentioned. Montané said: "*J'ai trouvé chez lui une bibliothèque immense, composée des livres les mieux choisis et les plus rares, des cartes de tous les pays et des meilleurs géographies.*"[9]

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Miranda [thrown into prison a second time] demanded a chance to reply to the scathing denunciation, but the order of the day was called for, and he was sent back to prison.[10]

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The life of Miranda did not cease to have its interesting incidents even when he was imprisoned. Many men of rank and distinction were in La Force when Miranda was there. There was Champagneux, sent from his post under the minister of the interior inside those "terrible doors." It is from his recollections that we get a picture of Miranda's life in the prison. Achille de Châtelet, an ardent scholar and lover of liberty, was languishing there still suffering from a wound received in battle. The sincere republican Adam Lux, the deputy from Mayence, had also been thrust into this prison, partly at least because of his expressed admiration for Charlotte Corday. The deputies Valazé and Vergniaud were also there. There were many other prisoners, but it was with this group of men that Miranda became especially intimate. Above all were he and Champagneux attracted to each other. Miranda seems to have aided Champagneux in writing a history of France.[11]

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According to the recollections of Champagneux, the two friends held many conferences on the art and science of war, in which Miranda championed the rules by which such generals

[5] *Ibidem:* pages 264-265.
[6] *Ibidem*: page 296.
[7] *Ibidem*: pages 299-300.
[8] *Ibidem*: page 300.
[9] *Ibidem*: page 300, foot-note *d*.
[10] *Ibidem*: page 301.
[11] *Ibidem*: page 301.

as Turenne had gained victories. Champagneux expressed his belief that Miranda would not consent to win a battle except in accordance with the rules of Alexander and Cæsar. In these discussions in which Champagneux praised the tactics of the contemporary French generals, Achille de Châtelet seems to have often acted as arbitrator. Miranda and Champagneux also compared views regarding the great governments of the world. We may well believe that Miranda displayed a strong predilection for the government of England, declaring that the English constitution was the best that had ever existed, for in England alone did man enjoy full civil liberty. Miranda praised Pitt and denounced Robespierre in language, said Champagneux, which was "picturesque with choler and indignation."[12]

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According to Champagneux, about the middle of July, 1794, Miranda and he were transferred to the Madelonettes, where they were crowded into more narrow and uncomfortable quarters than at La Force. The two friends were not able to study undisturbed, and the time passed wearily. Champagneux depicts only one of their companions in that prison, the architect-sculptor De Quinci.[13]

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It is during this part of the adventure that Miranda is presented in the most favorable light. Even according to the account of Biggs, one of his followers who later became prejudiced against him, he was courteous and conciliatory to his followers. Biggs, who wrote a valuable series of letters on the expedition, informs us that Miranda conversed with the young men on literature and commended the study of the Spanish language and mathematics, as skill in them was a sure means of promotion in his service. He entertained those more advanced in years with his ideas on "politicks and war," drawing illustrations from his own varied experiences. The company was impressed with his iron memory and his marvelous power of "colloquial eloquence." Evidently his aim was "to sow in the minds of his followers the seeds of heroical deeds, of liberty and revolution."[14]

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Miranda even directed his superabundant energy into the journalistic field. A Portuguese journal published in England appears to have been induced to favor the schemes of Miranda as "one who was to be the Washington of the southern continent." In the spring of 1810 a Spanish journal, *El Colombiano* was founded at London under the auspices of Miranda. The second issue of this paper, which is the only copy yet found even in part, dealt with the extension of French domination over the European continent. It began with a brief discussion of the recent French triumphs in Andalucía. Under the rubric, "Increase of the Monstrous Power of Napoleon," Miranda, for he was evidently the editor as well as the sponsor of this paper, declared that Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louise of Austria had "given to France and to the confederation of the Rhine, such a great accession of force, that every effort to diminish the ascendancy of Bonaparte will be useless for the present, and highly dangerous for the future." Napoleon was sarcastically characterized as the "regenerator of the human race," whose oppression increased in the same ratio with his colossal power. After discussing the recent decrees regarding such subjects as the press and state prisoners, the writer concluded: "Americans judge from these terrible and notorious facts what lot those people and nations must expect, who, being subjected or submitted to the influence of France, are obliged to live under such laws! The most oppressive system which could ever afflict mankind! May Providence, which has separated you from Europe by the vast ocean, preserve you also from an influence so pestilential and so fatal."[15]

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The private life of Miranda in London must have been interesting. It is at present difficult, however, to separate his private affairs from his revolutionizing activity. Miranda's home life is to a large extent shrouded in mystery. The South American certainly had a coterie of friends, sympathizers, reformers, revolutionists. As in previous years, his home was probably a gathering place for discontented Spanish-Americans like Antepara. We know that some prominent Englishmen were deeply interested in Miranda and Venezuela. The philosopher Jeremy Bentham was a warm friend of the agitator, at whose request he made a draft of a law for establishing the liberty of the press in Venezuela. Bentham even seems to have seriously entertained the thought of following Miranda if conditions appeared auspicious, for the purpose of formulating laws for the Venezuelans, which, he flattered

[12] *Ibidem*[7] pages 301, 302.

[13] *Ibidem*: page 302.
In the passage quoted, Professor Robertson gives the name "De Quinci." It should be Quatremère de Quincy.—THE EDITOR.

[14] *Ibidem*: page 376.

[15] *Ibidem*: page 427.

himself, they would receive "as oracles." Miranda was on friendly terms with William Wilberforce, who found his conversation "very entertaining and instructive, but used God's name very lightly."[16]

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Miranda was doubtless a zealous student "of the arts of either war or peace." Doctor Thompson, in his work called *Military Memoirs*, said: "I have had assistance . . . from different quarters; but my great guide and assistant was General Miranda, a man of learning, genius, military talents, experience and reputation."[17]

As one more proof of Miranda's great intellectual culture, we shall recall his rich library in London. He was in New York, at the end of 1805, completing preparations for his expedition against Venezuela, and, short of funds, he solicited and obtained a loan of two thousand pounds sterling on the sole guaranty of his books. Many years afterward, in the days of July 22-24, 1828, they were sold at public auction by a Mr. Evans of London. Professor Robertson, who had an opportunity to examine the catalogue of Miranda's library, printed on the occasion of the sale, comments that

the collection is very varied; in it are the histories of the European countries, the masterpieces of European literature, accounts of travels through several parts of the world, books on art, galleries of art, and "a beautiful collection of Spanish books, particularly relating to North and South America," according to the title-page.

Finally, Miranda himself declared in his will, made in London, August 1, 1805, that he left in Paris, in the care of Monsieur Clerisseau d'Auteville, Monsieur Le Grand, an architect of the same city, and Monsieur Chaveau Lagarde, his old defender and friend, a fine collection of pictures, bronzes, mosaics, *gouaches* and prints.

IT IS now time for us to concern ourselves with Quatremère's book. It is made up of two series of letters, each containing seven. Those addressed to Canova were dated at London, June 6-16, 1818. They refer to the sculptures of the temple of Minerva, denominated Elgin Marbles, because the earl of Elgin, minister of Great Britain, obtained permission of the sultan of Turkey to remove them from Athens to the British museum. By this permission the sultan gave proof to the British government of his appreciation of its services in behalf of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, which Napoleon had desired to dismember.

These acquisitions of the earl of Elgin are bas reliefs, fragments of statues that adorned the two pediments of the Parthenon, the sculptures of the frieze and those of a great number of metopes. Spread out on the ground, upon reaching London, without any order, they did not justify, to the eyes of the inexperienced, the heavy sums spent by the earl of Elgin. A trial ensued.

Canova was at that time in Paris. He had just recovered the artistic treasures wrested by Napoleon from Italy, and he wished to examine those marbles personally. Before setting out for England he sought the opinion of the French archæologist. Quatremère de Quincy crossed over to London, and thence, in order to comply with Canova's request, he wrote the letters mentioned, which Canova published in Rome for the first time. The letters to Miranda bear the date of 1796, and they occupy pages 171-279 of the volume. They constitute, in the main, a protest against the dispersion of the monuments of Italy, the dismemberment of her schools and the despoilment of her collections, galleries and museums, which Napoleon had begun to carry into effect. They set forth, besides, the grave injury that these depredations would occasion the arts and sciences.

Quatremère wrote:

I was under proscription as a consequence of the political events of Vendémiaire. Miranda, who was in the secret of my hiding-place, came to see me and urged that we begin a correspondence regarding the danger that threatened Rome and which he would undertake to make public. Indeed, it was published during those days in a series of articles that appeared in the newspaper *Le Rédacteur*. Shortly after having gained my freedom, I gathered the clippings in a book and sent them to General Bonaparte, who naturally paid no attention to them.

The sentences we have just transcribed lead us to think that *Le Rédacteur* brought

[16] *Ibidem*: page 435.
[17] *Ibidem:* page 436.

together in its columns not only the letters of Quatrèmere, but also those of Miranda, or at least the latter's commentaries or epigraphs. We have not had time to investigate the case in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where the files of this newspaper ought to be found. At all events, the epistolary correspondence of the wise Frenchmen alone, published for the third time in this book, honors Miranda in the highest degree and exalts his qualities as a thinker and man of letters. The following are some of the laudatory views of Quatrèmere regarding Miranda:

My dear Friend:

I applaud more and more the happy idea that you entertained, at the moment of our separation, of communicating interest to our epistolary correspondence by the discussion of some philosophic, literary or political subject. This treaty of interchange is too advantageous to me to be broken by myelf. If either of us is robbed of anything, it will be you, for you are the richer. However, such is the nature of the interchange of thought that it is not he that gives the most that enriches himself the least: this is proved to me by your last letters. It seems to me that you have exhausted the theme you had proposed for yourself; I think that nothing could be added to the means of which you have made use to demonstrate that the spirit of conquest is absolutely incompatible with the spirit of liberty in a republic. Nevertheless, you announce to me that your first proofs have opened to you the way for others still more conclusive to which your next letters will be devoted. I shall await them then before proposing to you any other subject.[18]

My dear Friend:

I have received your last letter, which will be, as you tell me, the last one on the "abuse of conquests in a republic." I am not now surprised at the profundity with which you treat this subject, since you furnish me in the form of letters the outline of a treatise you are publishing on the subject. I congratulate the public on the pleasure you have in store for it, and I felicitate myself on having suggested the idea to you. I can not in conscience offer you the same felicitation on the plan you have of publishing my letters. You have a right to do so, and I shall not blame you for the abuse of confidence; but you yourself can see that they will not produce on public opinion the impression that you desire.[19]

. . . . . .

I should have many things to say to you regarding that social harmony, if I did not know that I am speaking to a man more highly learned in the subject than I am. You will not doubt therefore that these ancient statues, thus uprooted, torn, as they are, from the totality of objects of all kinds that give them value, from all the comparisons that cause their beauty to stand out, lose, beneath a foreign sky, the instructive virtue that artists went to seek in Rome, and that they will not again find in any other city of Europe.[20]

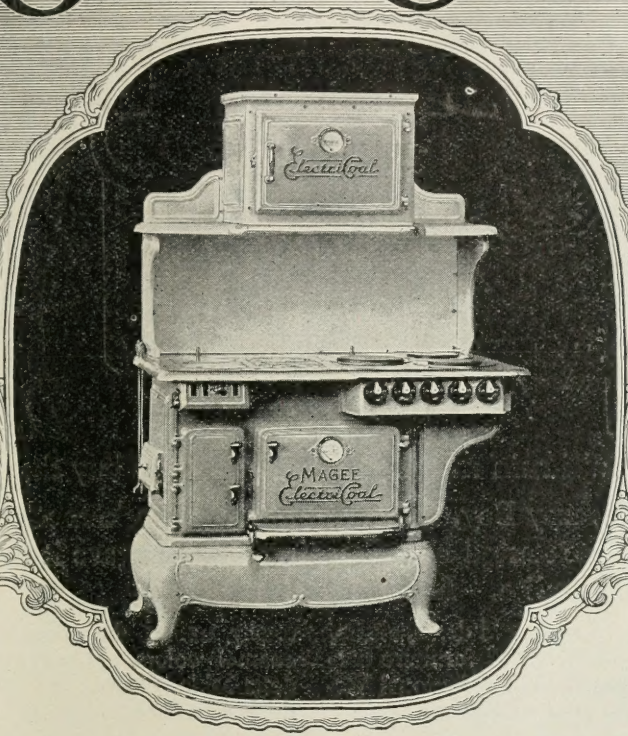
Miranda's country has still a duty to perform: to rescue from oblivion the speculative works of the unfortunate precursor. Shall we some day become acquainted with his political, literary and artistic writings as a whole? It is painful to think how, obscurely, in abandonment and an advanced age, as the victim of the violation of a solemn covenant, was extinguished the life of Miranda, the celebrated man of arms, the cultivator of humane letters, and one of the purest glories of the heroic Venezuelan soil.

[18]Quatremère de Quincy: *Lettres*, et cetera: "Première lettre," pages 173-174.

[19]*Ibidem*: "Quatrème lettre," pages 217-218.

[20]*Ibidem*: "Quatrième lettre," page 228.

MAGEE ElectriCoal



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